





Victor Society of Bengal
(MEMOIR *From the author*)

OF

D. ARKANATH TAGORE.)²

BY

(KISSORY CHAND MITTRA.)²

ORIGINALLY READ AT THE 27TH BARE ANNIVERSARY MEETING
HELD AT THE TOWN HALL ON THE 1ST JUNE 1870.

REVISED AND ENLARGED.

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APPENDIX.

MEETING OF THE LANDHOLDERS' SOCIETY, NOV. 30, 1839.

A GREAT meeting of the members of the Landholders' Association was held at the Town Hall, this day, at eleven o'clock. Tables were placed along the whole length of the lower floor of the Hall, and in the centre were a smaller table and chairs raised three feet above the rest to render the speakers more conspicuous and audible.

When the meeting was assembled, Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore proposed that Rajah Radhakant Deb should take the chair. The proposition was seconded by Mr. Stocqueler, and carried unanimously. When the Rajah had taken his seat, the other seats at the elevated table were immediately occupied by Messrs. Turton, Leith, Hurry, Dickens, and James Hume, Rajah Kalikrishna Bahadoor, Rajah Raj Narain Roy, Baboos Dwarkanauth Tagore, Prosonnocomar Tagore, Ashootoss Dey, Ram Comul Sein, Radhapersaud Roy, and others. We also noticed in the neighbourhood, Messrs. Colquhoun, R. Bagshaw, Patrick, James Cullen, S. Smith, Gordon, Vint, Charles Hogg, W. Fergusson, Strong, the young Rajah Kissonauth Roy Bahadoor, and many other European and native gentlemen of note. When the Hall had filled, there might have been present at least 1,000 persons.

Mr. William Cobb Hurry, one of the Secretaries, opened the business of the meeting by reading the report of the committee of the Association, of which the following is a copy:—

Gentlemen,—Your committee have now to perform the pleasing task of submitting for your consideration a report of their proceedings for the year which is just about to expire; and in doing so, they beg leave to observe, that their operations, although slow, have yet been conducted on safe principles, tending gradually to extend the numerical strength of the Society, to increase its usefulness, and to establish it on a firm basis.

2. It is needless to bring to your notice facts with which you are so well acquainted, as the present state of the revenue, the Judicial Police, and other branches of the public administration of the country, and the extent to which they are susceptible of reform. On questions connected with these subjects, your committee have received numerous applications from various parts of the country. In regard to many of these, your committee have not thought it expedient to adopt any immediate measures, lest they should, by trespassing too frequently on the time and attention of the public functionaries, be thought impertunate, whilst they have been careful to bring to the notice of Government the more important points noticed by their constituents, and which require its immediate attention.

3. In obedience to the instructions given at the general meeting of the Society, held on the 31st of October last, your committee presented to His Honor the Deputy Governor of Bengal the memorial on the subject of the resumption of *lakheraj* tenures, which had been approved by the meeting. They regret to state that the reply of the Bengal Government holds out no hope of redress or prospect of alleviation of the distress of the suffering people set forth in that memorial. That document, together with the reply of Government, has already been published for your information, the committee therefore deem it needless to make any further reference to those papers.

4. Your committee were further instructed to submit an appeal, in case of an unfavorable result to their memorial to the Government of Bengal, which they did in the first instance to the Supreme Government of India, the highest local authority for appeal. The reply which they have received, together with their address to the Supreme Government, the committee have now the honor to submit for your information.

5. By the above reply of the Supreme Government, you will perceive that His Honor in Council makes the following observations:—
 “In reply, the Hon’ble the President in Council directs me to say that he sees no reason to disapprove of the answer of the Government of Bengal from which the Society has appealed. The Government of India, anxious to remove every ground of complaint, has, after the most careful examination, authorized as extensive a relaxation of the law, both in regard to the resumption and assessment of invalid rent-free tenures, as appeared requisite to secure the fullest consideration for the holders of the tenures in question that could reasonably be expected, and His Honor in Council is persuaded that the landholders, under this presidency, will find abundant reason to be satisfied with the indulgence which has been extended to them.”

6. In consequence of the foregoing expression of the resolution of Government, your committee, without delay, addressed the Supreme

Government, and requested to be made acquainted with at least the outlines of the indulgent order therein alluded to. But no reply has yet been received; although, from the newspapers of the presidency, and other sources, your committee have learnt that the Supreme Government has been pleased to direct that, in all cases in which the right of Government may be confirmed by the tribunals established for the resumption of lakheraj tenures, the assessment be settled in perpetuity at one-half the gross rental of the mehal. Under these circumstances, your committee can only recommend the acceptance of this indulgence with grateful thanks to the Supreme Government, and the submission of an appeal to the authorities in England for the admission of that part of their claims which is yet withheld.

7. Your committee takes this opportunity to bring to your notice that all settlements of rent-free tenure, at half assessment as above alluded to, are directed to take effect prospectively from the 15th June last, leaving the cases of those whose tenures have already been settled prior to that date unredressed. The justice of this arrangement is difficult to perceive; your committee therefore beg your permission again to address the Supreme Government on the subject, as well as on a few other points connected with the said order, as soon as they are furnished with an official copy.

8. In regard to the appeal to the authorities in England, your committee, when they consider the liberal and enlightened views which now direct the public feeling there, and which have been so auspicious to this distant and neglected country, as to give birth to the British India Association, the object of which is to promote our welfare—they cannot but entertain a well-grounded hope that an appeal to England on the subject under reference, which is at once so just and so deserving the attention of a great nation, cannot fail to meet a favorable reception in that land of liberty, humanity, and justice.

9. Besides the important question of resumption, your committee have, during the year, submitted other interesting subjects for the consideration of Government, which they now proceed to notice.

10. Your committee had much pleasure in observing an announcement by the Government, in regard to the extension of the vernacular language in the proceedings of the Courts of Justice, from the beginning of the current year. On that occasion your committee addressed the Government, expressing the satisfaction they felt at the prospect of so salutary a change.

11. Your committee, however, perceived with regret an attempt by certain interested parties to introduce, in the room of the current phrases, now well understood by the mass of the people, a variety of obsolete Sanscrit terms. To check this evil, your committee submitted,

for the consideration of Government the propriety of publishing a dictionary, or rather a vocabulary of the Court phraseology, which might be used as the standard in all public proceedings held in the vernacular language.—Your committee have much pleasure in stating that their suggestion was kindly received by the Government.

12. In last April, your committee, in the midst of their engagements on important business, had to perform the melancholy task of recording the death of Mr. G. A. Prinsep, one of their members, to whose indefatigable exertions the Society is much indebted, and whose untimely and sudden decease has been a loss no less severe to this institution than to the public at large.

13. Your committee had occasion to bring to the notice of Government the injurious effects of the great difference in the rate of duty charged in England upon Indian and Canadian Tobacco, and to suggest an equalization. A representation to the same effect having also been made to Government by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the question has been submitted for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, supported by the recommendation of the Government of India.

14. The expected revision in the Stamp Act, in regard to the duties now levied on the *kubults* and security-bonds of the village gomastahs, &c., having been delayed, your committee took an opportunity to call again the attention of Government to the subject. They have been assured that their representation will meet attentive consideration.

15. Your committee feel much pleasure in directing your attention to a letter on the cultivation of flax, &c., received from Mr. A. Rogers, who is now in England. This paper, which is recorded at page 82 of your committee's proceedings, is one of the proofs of the zeal and devotion of Mr. Rogers, unlike to the generality of retired British Indians, to the interests of this country, and calls for its warmest acknowledgments.

16. Your committee have had occasion to submit, for the consideration of Government, four representations on the following subjects, viz.:

On *talubana*, or daily allowance to the peons who bear *perwannah*, building *ghatty ghurs* or village guard-houses, subsistence, or *khorahey*, for witnesses summoned in criminal suits, and on fining and imprisoning for alleged neglect of Police duties. Of these the letters on the subject of *talubana* and *ghatty ghurs* have already been replied to by Government in a favorable manner, and the others are under its consideration; and will no doubt be favorably treated.

17. Your committee are particularly anxious to bring to your notice the zealous exertion of Mr. Crawford, your agent in England, with

whom they have kept up a regular correspondence; he is the channel of communication between this Institution and the British India Association of England, with whose objects you are already acquainted through the newspapers, and from whose efforts, for the improvement of this country, so much may reasonably be expected.

A subscription was raised and Co.'s Rs. 2,500 or £250 has already been remitted. Your committee strongly recommend you to co-operate with the British India Association, the object of that Institution being so nearly identical with that of your Society. But on this subject you will hear further in the course of the proceedings of this day.

18. Your committee having laid before you a brief outline of their labors since the date of their last general report, now beg to conclude, and in doing so, they feel it incumbent upon them to call your particular attention to the nature of this institution, to its national character, and the great objects of national improvement which form its basis, to the number of those who are likely to be benefitted by it, and to the amount of the revenue they contribute in support of the Government of the country. A consideration of these circumstances demands your particular support for this Institution, whose very existence depends on the exertion in its behalf of the influence which you, individually and collectively, possess. Unless that be accorded with a liberal hand, this rising Institution cannot be kept up in the manner which is necessary for a full development of the advantages expected to result from it.

19. Your committee now beg to direct your attention to the resolutions intended to be submitted in to-day's meeting for your immediate consideration, particularly to that which regards the establishment of a Parliamentary Agency, the importance of which, not only to this Institution, but to the country at large, cannot at present be fully estimated.

(Signed) W. O. HURRY and

PROBONOCOOMAR TAGORE,

Honorary Secretaries.

CALCUTTA, Dec. 7, 1839.

When the report had been read, Rajah Kalikrishna Bahadoor read an address in Bengali, of which the following is a free translation:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—With great pleasure I rise to say, that nearly three years ago, our Landholders' Society was established, and that it is now engaged in corresponding with the Government upon several important subjects, such as the Resumption Law, &c., &c.

And I have reason to believe that Government will be glad to receive the opinion of the Society on the Draft Acts relating to Land Revenue, and the Police, before their actual promulgation. In accordance thereto, the Society will doubtless submit, from time to time, to the Government, such remarks as may appear to them expedient and beneficial for Her Majesty's subjects; and should our wise and upright rulers be pleased to attend to our suggestions, much good will, no doubt, be the result. At present, by the law regarding the sale of zemindaries for arrears, which the Government proposes to enact, the charge of 24 per cent. for interest and penalty which the zemindars used to pay with difficulty, will be done away. We therefore confess it will be a boon conferred upon us: but the evils that may still flow from the provisions of some of the sections in the said Act, having been duly considered by the Society, will be respectfully submitted to the Government. Whenever common consent is obtained on matters of general welfare, great hopes are entertained for their success. Besides, the advantages expected from the formation of our Society are innumerable.

The inhabitants of the mofussil are also gradually appreciating the value of this Society, which I have gathered from the verbal expression of opinion on the part of several talookdars, during my short stay in our zemindaree at Tipperah. I now hope that our Society will perpetually continue to assist in whatever may relate to the public good, and the trouble which its members may take in performing its duties with heart and hand, will certainly be entitled to our unfeigned encomiums. It is generally known that, while public assemblies are wanting in any city, the distresses of the ruled can never be brought to the notice of the rulers, nor redressed. If their grievances are often submitted in application to the local authorities, they either cause their displeasure, or the complaints appear to them delusory. Consequently, the reformation of the condition of our countrymen is interrupted.

Our present Honorable President in Council having published the two new Acts, one for the prohibition of swearing by the *Gunga water* in the mofussil tribunals, and the other for reducing the rates of postage, deserve our best thanks. By the latter Act, much advantage will be gained to the community at large; and it is hoped that several communications on public subjects, will be forthcoming from time to time. Mark, Gentlemen, that in England the transmission of letters by post was so abundant, that during *one day*, *ninety thousand* letters were received in the London Post Office, and *forty thousand* rupees were collected on account of postage. But it is a pity that the greater of our countrymen are naturally so slothful, that they do not like to engage in epistolary correspondence. Some are unwilling to write in consideration of complimentary phrases; some from inde-

pendence; and others, from mutual jealousy and for the preservation of dignity, &c., neither meet nor communicate with each other. However, by the noble example of European policy and customs, these disgusting oriental manners are now-a-days fast declining.

I am glad to observe that some of the European gentlemen, who, although residing at a distance from us of about *five thousand* miles, gentlemen in England I mean, out of compassion, are trying to confer benefit upon our countrymen; in consequence of which, they have established an Institution under the denomination of the "British Indian Society." At its first grand meeting, Lord Brougham, having taken the chair, delivered an excellent speech, which has appeared in the English papers, and has been seen by all: he, therefore, is entitled to our hearty thank-; and it is advisable for our Society to communicate them to His Lordship, and to open a correspondence with the said Society.

By the last intelligence from Europe, we have been informed that the Right Reverend the Bishop of London made a speech in the House of Lords to the effect that to fill up the Government treasury with duties exacted from Hindu temples, was a matter of abhorrence; and he at the same time unwarrantably vilified the general character of the natives; but in vindication of these men, Sir Charles Forbes replied to the worthy Bishop's observations, wherefore, Sir Charles should be thanked by us. Should the Government abolish the practice of collecting duties from pilgrims, and empower the Rajahs, Priests, or Brahmins, of the respective religious places, to manage the affairs thereof, without exercising caution against extortion, and keeping the Police in proper order, I fear great injury will arise to the lives and properties of pilgrims; because it will be quite impossible for them to conduct those duties; for when the governed are made destitute of comfort, the Governor is not praised. When Mogul and Hindoo Kings had the ruling power in their hands, the outrages of burgees and plunderers were common. The acts of former violence have now, under the glorious Government of the British, greatly ceased, and all travellers pass safely all over India.

I do not wish to occupy much of your time, Gentlemen, and therefore beg to put a period to my present speech.

At the close of the foregoing address, the Râjah moved the following resolution:—

That the Annual Report of the committee be confirmed and published.

This was seconded by Mr. D. Hare.

The Chairman then rose, in the midst of cheers, and briefly explained in Bengali the substance of the report.

The young Rajah Kissennauth Roy Bahadoor addressed the meeting in Bengali to the following effect :—

It affords me great satisfaction to move the second resolution, the object of which is to pray the authorities in Europe to complete the justice which the Local Government has allowed but by half. When I think of the suffering of my poor countrymen in the mofussil, where I generally reside, and where I have had some opportunities of making myself acquainted with the real nature of the facts, and the sufferings consequent on the resumption operations, I feel assured of the expediency of appealing to England, and also of the favorable result of our appeal in that land of justice. We cannot for a moment doubt that the cries of so many helpless widows, orphans, and aged, who have been deprived of the only means of their existence by the resumption operations, will secure for us a favorable hearing. Under these circumstances, you will, no doubt, support the resolution I am about to move, especially when you will have heard from my friend, Mr. Dickens, who has kindly promised to second my resolution, the particulars connected with the important subject of resumptions.

The Rajah then read the following resolution :—

Resolved, that in the present state of the question of resumption of the rent-free tenures, and with reference to Mr. Secretary J. P. Grant's letter of 25th November, it is expedient to appeal to the authorities in England with the view to obtain complete redress.

Mr. T. Dickens then addressed the meeting to the following effect :—

I rise to second the resolution which has been moved by Coor Kissennauth who has just sat down. Permit me to take the opportunity afforded by this our second general meeting since the formation of the Landholders' Society, to congratulate you warmly on the results which have already attended our efforts in favor of the public good in general, and the just interests of the owners and cultivators of the soil. Permit me, too, to congratulate you on the extension and strength which our Society has already attained, though scarcely twelve months have elapsed since it was fully organized. Permit me lastly to congratulate you on the moderation and good sense which have characterized all your proceedings, and to which in a great degree must be attributed the generally successful results which have attended your representations. Before I proceed to the business which more particularly induces me to address you, let me notice the statements which have recently been made respecting this Society, and which I can only characterize as misrepresentations which may have been mistakes. It has been said that you are purely a metropolitan Society, having but little or no connection with the landholders of the mofussil, and that it is necessary, in order to render the Society useful, that branch Societies

should be formed in the interior. I fully admit the propriety and utility of branch associations, but the fact is that many such have been formed, and more are in progress, and more would have been formed but for the difficulty of intercourse and communication in this country, which by no means abounds in facilities for communication. As to the assertion that this Society is merely or chiefly a metropolitan association, having no root in the provinces, and but little connection with their inhabitants, no assertion could have been hazarded that was more thoroughly inaccurate. In every zillah of Bengal, in most of those in Behar and Benares, and in many beyond the Carumnassa, we number associates and supporters, and those of all classes, both native zemindars, and English and European planters. The amount of property possessed by the supporters of this Association in the mofussil is enormous. I point to my young friend here, Cooar Kissennauth, the mover of this resolution, the second largest landholder in Bengal,—second, I believe to none but the Rajah of Burdwan, who, some day or other I hope to see also a member of this Society. I point to many of the native gentlemen and others around this table, and I see at one glance men possessed of landed estates in the mofussil which millions would not purchase, and whose connection with Calcutta is trifling, as regards property, compared with their interest in the mofussil. It is in vain then that our opponents affirm, with more or less good faith, that we have no branches in the mofussil. No, Gentlemen, it is precisely because we have struck root in every zillah; and have extended the ramifications of our Society throughout the land that these suggestions are made. Let us go on extending and prosper by it; let us form, promote, encourage by all means in our power branch Societies; but let us never forget the paramount necessity of union and co-operation. By this alone shall we have power to aid the efforts of Government for the improvement of the country, when, as is generally the case, the efforts of the Society are directed to ends which the local authorities approve; or power to aid ourselves when, as in the instance of the resumption of rent-free tenures, we find ourselves in apparent opposition to the opinions of, perhaps, a majority of the Council. I now turn to the resolution which is before you for consideration. “In the present state of the question of the resumption of rent-free tenures, it is expedient to appeal to the Home authorities.” Thus the resolution is expressed, and the question to be asked and answered is, why is it expedient to appeal, and what is our chance of success in an appeal? I reply, that it is expedient to appeal because we have already gained here all that we can expect to gain, and therefore we must abandon the cause or carry it further, and persevere in a strenuous but temperate opposition.

Since you began the contest, scarce a twelvemonth ago, you have already gained half the battle. One effort more—a powerful, a well-combined, a firmly sustained effort—and you may gain the other half. If not by one effort, then by many, renew the contest at every opportunity, and never abandon a cause which, by its strength and intrinsic justice, will in the end, in my belief, assuredly prevail, if it be not betrayed by its supporters. Recollect, Gentlemen, what was the state of opinion on this subject a year ago, and look what it is now. I do not speak of public or popular opinion, but of the opinion of the Government itself, which in some sense we may be truly said to oppose, but which we oppose, without factiousness and with real respect, in a matter of the greatest importance to the interest of the country, and a matter respecting which it is so far from being plain that the opinions of the members of Government agree, that on the contrary it is a fair, necessary, and irresistible inference drawn from their acts, that they do not agree amongst themselves, and that they do agree with us at least to the extent of half our claims. I cannot pretend to allude, and I do not mean to allude in the remotest degree, to any private opinions of any members of Government. I make no pretence to any knowledge of them on the subject of the resumption of rent-free tenures. I only reason from the public letters and the Acts of Government, and I see in them sufficient reason to conclude that the Government is in reality by no means so unfriendly to our claims as shallow and jesuitical advocates of public bad faith would insinuate, and I do not think it altogether impossible that our appeal home may be viewed in that quarter without disapprobation, although it is scarcely to be expected it could meet with direct encouragement. Supposing, however, that in a single question, we, as members of this Society, were in opposition to the views of Government, there is no reason why such an opposition should not exist, should not be avowed, should not be maintained. The concessions that have been made are at once testimonies of approbation of the mode in which our opposition to the original measure of resumption was conducted, and an admission of its necessity. I should be glad to know, if this Society had not come to the aid of those members of Government who think that resumption, in the hands of its zealous professors and practitioners, was at no very remote a period carried with too high a land and too unreflecting velocity, what chance should we have had of arresting those measures which have now been checked in mid-career? If, however, because the Government only half agrees with us, and does not go the whole length which we wish and urge them to go, we must be represented as being in opposition to Government. Be it so; I am content. I know of no reason or law

which calls upon me to surrender my opinion on this subject, in which I have not a particle of personal interest, speaking of interest in a pecuniary sense alone, to the opinion of any other man or men, whether members of Government or not. All I am bound to do, and all this Society is bound to do, is what we shall all take very good care to do, namely, to treat the local Government, which fully merits it from us, with careful respect, and to follow up our arguments and our appeal with equal moderation and firmness. If we undertake this appeal, do not miscalculate your means—do not, as has too often been done, trust to the moral force of argument alone—do not relax after one effort. Consider, if you do encounter opposition, what it is that you undertake. You would have to oppose incomparably the most powerful corporation that has ever existed in England, and which, in all reasonable probability, would be aided, not opposed, by the ministry of the day. Against such a combination of power, nothing but organised and disciplined exertion will be of the slightest avail. I have said it to you often, I repeat it here earnestly and emphatically, that without an organized agency in England, an extra parliamentary agency and an agency within the House of Commons, well-selected, paid, laborious and energetic, as well as well-intentioned, you will do absolutely nothing. Choose then whether you will support this, or abandon a struggle that will be utterly hopeless, and only expose those who threw themselves into the foremost ranks as leaders in the contest to certain defeat and its attendant mortification. I have seen something of society elsewhere; I have had long experience of it here; and while I feel bound to say of Calcutta that I know few cities where there exists a greater fund of public spirit, I know of none where there exists less union, and where public spirit is more wasted in ineffectual displays, or thrown away in single and desultory efforts. I am far from saying that, in the last few years, nothing has been achieved. Much has been gained for the cause of good government by the efforts of this community, but little indeed in comparison with what might have been attained by more regular and continued exertions. Let me impress upon your minds again and again, that nothing is to be expected, as nothing is ever, or if ever, but very rarely, obtained by a single effort—nothing, I mean, that is great or even considerable. As water wears the hardest stone, not by force alone, but by continual falling, so does the perpetually renewed endeavour and the indestructible determination to win the right, enable the patient combatant to stand at last a victor in the arena. Often, from defect in this obstinate perseverance, so essential to success in all political differences, have I seen the inhabitants of Calcutta resemble the young and reckless chivalry described by a

great poet, and who was moreover what a great poet is not always—
a great man, that

“Scorning danger’s name,
In eager mood to battle came;
Their valour like light straw on flame.
A fierce but fading fire.”

Let not your efforts resemble these, and give evidence where your interest and your rights are so nearly concerned of something better, than the best intentions. Do not trust to those who would persuade you that you will always find leaders among those who agree with you in opinion, and advocates for nothing. In England, there are hardly five men who understand your cause, or could be made to understand it thoroughly, however much they may love justice, unless it was urged and explained, and made clear by those who would have a stronger motive than a mere love of abstract justice and fair dealing to inspire them. It is not popular enough for a party to handle, and far too difficult for a mere rhetorician to touch with profit. In India you are not likely to be better supplied with gratuitous leaders who can devote themselves as zealously and as laboriously as the occasion requires to aid you. Few—very few men here have any leisure at all. All must perceive that in this and similar questions, they are only likely to attain one reward, and that is the reward of their own approbation and their own consciences. If it be said to me, “but this will be echoed back by the public voice, and they will also obtain that highest of all rewards when really accorded to good actions, the need of well-earned popularity.” I should say again, what is the value of this last reward, that a wise man should place his dependence on it? Is not the shortness of the duration of all popularity the subject of warnings so numerous as to be the most hacknied of commonplaces? Is it not as fickle as the wind, unstable as water, a type and metaphor of all uncertainty, the very antipodes of all certainty, except the certainty of disappointment, worn away by gradual envy, overcast by gathering misrepresentation, destroyed by open hostility? Depend upon it, while a wise man always sets a just value on the kind of reward, he sets no more; and if you mean to be well served, you must make it the interest of those who have ability, as well as good will, to defend your interests.

If we pass the resolution which I recommend to your adoption, we shall express an opinion that it is expedient to appeal to the Home authorities. Permit me to recall to your recollection that while we may infer that the Government here is favorable to us in principle,

although it prefers to keep half the profit of the measure that it virtually condemns, the Court of Directors must be deemed to be altogether favorable to our prayer. The only public document I know of on this subject emanating from that Court, is the public letter of (I think) February 1831, an extract of which was printed in the parliamentary papers, and has been so often quoted in this controversy. In that extract, the Directors distinctly announce the necessity of observing inviolate the principle that a certain lapse of time should protect the owner of property from all resumption and all enquiry, they gravely recommend the adoption here of a law of limitation similar to that introduced with so much advantage, say they, at Bombay in 1820, unaware that the law at Bombay was simply an imitation of one that had been in force here near 20 years before, the existence of which last law had, however, been suppressed and even denied in the public letter of this Government of 1830, which they were then answering, a suppression and a denial, the acts probably of some Secretary who knew enough of what he was writing about, to render the discovery of such a passage and state paper of this Government a source of rather startling reflections to the owners of land. But to resume: in addition to these recommendations, the Court of Directors add another; namely, the necessity of rigidly adhering to those principles laid down in the preambles of Lord Cornwallis's revenue laws, in which a public pledge is given that the question of right to the soil shall, as between the Government and the subject, be judged by the regular and permanently constituted judicial tribunals, because, say they, with some exaggeration perhaps, but with a most honorable and praiseworthy anxiety for the strict administration of justice—"It is not only necessary that our Courts should administer strict justice, but it is even of more importance that they should be believed to administer strict justice." I say then, Gentlemen, to these men, to this Court of Directors that writes words of so much encouragement, it is expedient to appeal. To this state paper, to this public record, so unlike many we have of late had to reflect upon, I point with trusting admiration, and I say that this is at once both a beacon of hope and a haven of safety. Its language is wise, philosophical, impartial, just; let us hope and believe, to complete the catalogue of its merits, that it is also prophetic.

As I urge upon you, Gentlemen, the necessity of perseverance and the expediency of an appeal, it will be by no means superfluous that I should here give, though in a brief and condensed form, an exposition of the state of the argument on this question of the resumption of free tenures. By the laws of Lord Cornwallis in 1793, which, taken with the Limitation Act of Lord Wellesley of 1802, may well be termed the charter of the lakherajdars as of the holders of all lands

under the permanent settlement, and the permanent settlement itself; these things were in substance enacted. First, that no tenure, however acquired, possessed as a rent-free tenure prior to the 12th August 1765, should, on any pretext whatsoever, be disturbed or re-assessed, and that no rent-free tenure, though subsequent to that date, should be re-assessed or resumed, provided the possessor could shew a sixty years' unquestioned possession. Secondly, that a general registry of all rent-free tenures, a sort of Domesday Book, should be forthwith compiled for each zillah (I may digress here to observe that some of these registry laws are subsequent to 1802, and as late as 1808, but that makes no sort of difference) in books made out in duplicate, which should be signed and verified in each page (I think) by the Judge or Collector of the zillah, and then one copy being kept at the zillah station, the other should be sent to the Sudder Board of Revenue, in order that, as far as human foresight could go, an imperishable record might remain of these claims to exemption. By these registry laws, it was provided further that personal notice should be served upon each lakherajdar to come forward and produce his title deeds and claims to exemption within (I think) one year; and it was further provided, that in default of the production of such deed and claims to exemption within the specified period, such rent-free tenures should be liable to forfeiture and resumption at the suit of Government before the regular tribunals, provided the notice and servants to produce was duly proved. Thirdly and lastly, those laws of 1793, in most clear, precise, positive, nay, even eloquent language—for words that have the character of such perfect wisdom have also the character of true eloquence—enacted (and solemnly pledged this Government through all time to come to adhere to the principle thus promulgated) that in all cases of disputed claims to land between the possessors and the Government, the right should be decided by the regular judicial tribunals, and not by the Revenue authorities, or by special and exceptional tribunals framed and organised for the express purpose of enquiry into obsolete Government claims, or more for that purpose than any other.

This, Gentlemen, is the substance of the laws of 1793.—a body of laws replete with policy, unsurpassed in justice, more calculated to conciliate the subject and advance the honor of the Government, than any colonial code I have ever read of, and which, until condemned and all but overthrown by men bearing only the name of statesmen, might have been pointed at by Englishmen with pride as an unparalleled example of the moderation of a humane and civilized people in conquest. Should we be found in opposition to a Government that acted on such principles as that of Lord Cornwallis; should we be found prompt or eager to blame, slow or

backward in applauding such motives and such practice? Far from it; but precisely in the degree that, misled by shallow experimentators, eager to make the fortune of an official representation by the easy process of giving a back turn to the financial screw, the Government departs from the principles of permanent settlement and the pledges of Lord Cornwallis, it requires no supernatural gifts to enable us to foretell that the results of opposition will become more sordid and dense, and its calculations more of that class than according to a great general principle favor. We have then the laws of 1793, and the latter pledge of the Court of Directors, that those laws should and ought to be upheld. What is there against us? the arguments of our opponent! It has been said over and over again, with every variety of ignorance and flippancy in the newspapers, that the laws of 1819 and 1828, both as to the limitations of time, the nature of the rights of Government, and the quality and composition of the tribunal that were to try those rights when it pleased the officers of Government to urge them against the lakherajdars, completely changed, repealed, modified, and reversed the laws of 1793 and 1802; and moreover, that this was rightly done, that it was attempted, and as far as the composition of the new tribunals was concerned, perfected, I freely admit. The only question that remained behind, which minds of this stamp never thought of discussing, was whether it could be done lawfully and rightfully. Now I maintain deliberately, after long reflection, and pledge myself to maintain the proposition anywhere, that neither as to the limitation of time, the necessity of notice before forfeiture for non-registry, the composition of the tribunals, could the law of 1819 and 1828 repeal; vary, or modify by any one substantial particular to the advantage of Government, or the disadvantage of the lakherajdar, the laws of 1793. I should maintain this quite as firmly if the Government of that day possessed, as these official sciolists suppose, a plenary legislative power, but it did not possess any such power or anything like it: its power was a strictly delegated power, with restrictions which it thought fit deliberately to disregard and did disregard with impunity; but impunity, however long, can never prevail against right, when well urged and backed by power, and it is always in the competence of Parliament to set all injustice, however snugly done, under the color of our assumed authority when the injustice is once made manifest, and it is shown that the root of this noxious tree was a sheer legislative usurpation. If such a power had been assumed for good ends, and when it was assumed for good ends in these cases, indeed convenience may dictate the necessity of refusing to alter that to which there is nothing but a technical objection as it were; but it is otherwise, when wrong has been done, and the wrongdoers are brought to the bar of

legislative judgment, I affirm, which may serve as a summary of the whole proposition on this head, that the laws of 1793 and 1802 respecting both the limitation of time and the composition of the tribunals were not to be considered in the light of ordinary laws, laying down definitions of civil rights, and regulating the acquisition and extent of possession of property, but were distinct, deliberate, solemn public pledges and compacts between the Government and its subjects, which it was in the power of the successors of the former at no time to vary and alter in one iota to its own advantage,—when I say power, I speak of lawful power, of power and right as co-existent. I think the Indian legislative reformers of the modern school, the men of plenary powers, are apt to make the mistake of supposing that the rights of Government are co-extensive with its power. There is a class of these men, and their miserable advocates of the newspapers, who lay down in almost direct and positive terms a proposition equivalent in terms to this: the Government, being a mere trustee for the public of the revenues, had no right, has no right to limit its demands under any circumstances, so as to produce the slightest inequality of taxation on land: and if it has done so at any period of time, by pledges however deliberate, well considered at the time, and solemnly promulgated, the moment all this is found out or conceived to be a mistake, it is according to the eternal fitness of things to break these pledges and to equalize again all men under the revenue roller. I turn, Gentlemen, from men and from arguments of this stamp without a word of comment more. I will not waste my time and yours on such things.

Our opponents have urged in the newspapers, and elsewhere, many things on the subject of registry, which it is, however, necessary to notice. One word of digression may be allowed me on the subject of newspapers. Coming forward as a public advocate, and a disinterested one too, I may make bold to say, on this or any public question, I will not, as a general rule, answer men who do not come forward in their own proper names, or who come forward half masked. Here, in this place, before this assembly, before any meeting of this Society, at the appointed time, I am ready to meet any man or any number of men on these questions, and to render reasons for my conduct and for my opinions; but I will not bandy words in a fruitless and endless series of disputes with nameless men. I return to the subject of the registry of rent-free tenures. I asserted in my former address to you, that no such thing as a full, legal, and authentic registration of rent-free tenures, according to the laws of 1793 to 1808, had ever been in existence at any one period of time in any one zillah of Bengal. I now, after the experience and enquiries of twelve months and more, and, after the caution imposed by bold denials, here deliberately, advisedly

preparedly, and knowingly repeat the assertion, and distinctly pledge myself to uphold it. You will recollect what manner of registry that was to be, which was prescribed as well to the Government as to the lakhirajdar. It was a registry compiled, after personal notice to the latter, from his title deeds, entered into two duplicate original books, signed by the authorities, one to be kept as an authentic public record in the zillah, the other to be transmitted to the Sudder Board of Revenue in this metropolis. I say no one such book kept according to law ever existed. Well do I recollect how one of my opponents attempted to deny my plain, precise, yet fully defined and guarded assertion. He said, "How can it be coolly averred that no such thing as a full registry exists in any zillah, when in the province of Cuttack alone, there are 157,367 rent-free tenures" (or some such very precise numbers were given) "sent in for registry." I was staggered a little, Gentlemen, but only a little, and but for a moment, by the particularity of the denial and the way it was put. However, when I came to consider, it was but for a moment I bethought me that the appearance of accuracy in minute details, the particularities and the circumstances accompanying the assertion of any fact had really nothing to do after all with the home question, is it true or not? I recollect reading an amusing way of putting this in the "Antiquary," when Mr. Jonathan Oldbuck, tired of waiting for the Portanferry diligence, by long behind its time, and reasoning on the logician's maxim, that between what is non-apparent and non-existent there is in reality no difference, takes to doubting of the physical existence of that coach, and informs the owner, Mrs. Macleuchar, of his doubts. She responds.—"Oh, Lord, Sir, a' the neebors ken it weel; three yellow wheels and a black ane." Oldbuck rejoins:—"Woman, thy special description will not serve, for after all it may be only a lie with a circumstance." Well, Gentlemen, so did I reflect that this number of 157,367, and so forth, might be not a lie indeed, but only a special evasion with a plural circumstance, and so I set myself to enquire, and I found what I expected after a very few minutes' thought, which would be the fact, that there were vast bundles of 'tredads' or little deeds heaped up in the repositories of the revenue authorities, but which had never been authorized, arranged, authenticated, registered in a book in the prescribed form, in duplicate, or in anywise dealt with according to the requisition of the laws. So much for this denial. When I received it, I was, as I said to you, staggered; but, after one example of the kind, I felt very much at ease as to the degree of respect necessary to pay to the candour of such an opponent. I may illustrate this latter quality still further by one other fact. The question between us was the registry or non-registry according to the laws of the perma-

nently settled provinces of Bengal under the laws of 1793, and which had been acquired at the time of the grant of the Dewanny of 1765; the instance of denial selected for choice was the province of Cuttack, acquired in 1803 or 1804, and which did not become a province subject to our Regulations till, I think, the latter year, or 1806; but, speaking, as I do purely from memory and without any sort of preparation, I will not say I am sure of the latter dates, but before 1803, I am sure. I had affirmed, Gentlemen, another fact, namely, that the Deputy Collectors of Government forming the tribunal of first instance under the new philosophical regimen administered to the people of this country, were instructed, and did, in fact, proceed upon this principle, namely, that they knew the burden of proof of registry on the lakherajdar summoned, and in default of proof of registry resumed his land, and this too without requiring from the Government, that is, from themselves or their own suitor, client any of the smallest proofs of notice to bring in the title deeds for registry. I affirm this fact, again I affirm it solemnly, advisedly, without qualification; after enquiry I was met here, too, by the same opponent, and informed that an order had been sent some time before, prohibiting the Deputy Collectors from such practices in future. Again I was staggered, though by this time instructed and inducted into a reasonable scepticism, as to the assertion and denials of my adversary. You will observe that the question was a general one pervading all the zillahs; so my affirmation was couched, so you will perceive was the denial to all appearance. How stood the fact after due enquiry? I found, not to my amazement, for I had learned enough not to wonder at such trifles as those, that in one zillah, that of Rajshahye, in which the lakherajdars had handed into the authorities their title deeds, which, by the neglect of the authorities, had been destroyed (no uncommon case as I hear), Mr. Deputy Collector Goad, to his honor be it spoken, had made earnest representations on the subject of the hardship and injustice he must needs be the agent of, if he followed his orders, and thereupon a letter had been written—to whom? why to Mr. Deputy Collector Goad, and I am not sure to any other in Rajshahye, but I am willing to take it for granted to all other Deputy Collectors of Rajshahye, not to enforce resumption for mere defect of registry under the special circumstances of the case in that zillah. So here was neither a public law duly promulgated, nor a law contemplated, nor even a general circular letter of the Sudder Board of Revenue. When I saw this last denial, feeling bound as a public deputation to a full knowledge of all public and published accessible records, feeling bound to a full knowledge of the laws, common candour as a man and gentleman, I enquired, I found how the matter stood, and then I felt bound to

myself to discontinue a dispute that could, as I thought, be no longer persevered in with propriety.

To recapitulate, Gentlemen, the strength, pith, and substance of our case as I behold it. We have had three distinct pledges of old time from this Government in its better days—pledges sanctioned by law, by reason, by justice, by time, by expediency, and by the sanctity of moderation in self-seeking imposed by conquerors on themselves—the pledge that a given limitation should protect, the pledge that an authentic registry should record and protect, the pledge that comparatively pure and impartial tribunals should protect. These pledges, I care not from whose fault, nor from what cause, the Local Government has not kept. These pledges, at least two of them, the Court of Directors, in its general letter so often alluded to, has recommended its Government to keep inviolate, and pledged itself again and doubly and by anticipation, not to break. It is expedient, therefore, when half is given to you for justice, and half retained by the Local Government, as the profit of injustice to appeal to the Home authorities. Appeal then, appeal, and persevere.

Before I sit down and leave this theme, once more let me entreat, let me implore, let me counsel and advise you, if my advice have the least weight with you, and I think not much of persuasive oratory and would fain convince rather than persuade; and if I do not convince would not care to persuade, even an opponent, to bear impressed upon your inmost minds the necessity of union. Let it be your banner cry and your rallying word, with it and your own strength, and the strength of a cause that supports even the feeble; you must, you will, you cannot fail to conquer.

The Chairman briefly explained, first in Bengali, then in Oordoo, the object of Mr. Dickens' address and the resolution, and put the latter to the vote. Carried *nem. con.*

Mr. Turton, on rising to propose the second resolution, said that he was always anxious his motions and objects should be clearly understood, and that those whom he addressed, and whose support he asked for any proposition which he submitted to them, should be well aware of the nature and effect of it. If he felt that anxiety generally, he was more particularly pressed by it on the present occasion, from what had appeared in the last number of a newspaper called the *Friend of India*, an article which he greatly regretted, because, whilst he approved of the general tone and tenor of that paper, he could not but think that in the present instance they had mistaken and misrepresented the objects and the conduct of that Society, with which it was his (Mr. T.'s) intention to recommend the present meeting to co-operate and make common cause.

That Society was accused by the *Friend of India* of having "manifested a disposition to receive and disseminate every charge against the Government of India, however preposterous." If he (Mr. T.) thought they had manifested any such disposition, he should not recommend to the Landholders' Society to unite with them. But in his opinion they had merely manifested a disposition to give their attention to the interests of the inhabitants of India as a portion of the unrepresented British subjects; to gather information, and to disseminate it; to enquire into any grievances of which they might complain, and if such complaints should be found to be just,—if on any question after enquiring, it should be found that the Government were wrong, and the people right, "by all peaceful, lawful, temperate, moderate and cordial means to endeavour to obtain the people's redress." These were the words of Lord Brougham, and in this spirit he (Mr. T.) proposed the resolution. When he read the language of Lord Brougham in detailing the general objects of the meeting, and saw that he congratulates the meeting that it was composed of men of all parties; when he saw one of the most active members was Sir Charles Forbes, whom the meeting so justly designated as the "benevolent Father of India," one of the most amiable and benevolent men he (Mr. Turton) knew, and one certainly the least open to the charge of supporting a factious opposition; one who was notoriously opposed to that line of politics which Lord Brougham had generally pursued; he could not, and he would not believe, that the objects of the meeting, at which Lord Brougham presided, was to shew any factious opposition to the Government of this country, or to do more than to aid the unrepresented people of India in obtaining a hearing of their complaints, to investigate them, and, if found to be just, but not otherwise, assist them to obtain redress. It was for this reason that he, who could not but be interested for the prosperity of India, in connection and union with his native country, proposed co-operation with a Society having such objects. Before making further observations, he would read to the meeting the resolution, which, in conclusion, it was his intention to move, and which would render the comments he might make more intelligible.

After reading, the following resolution was passed:—

3rd.—Resolved that the Society see with extreme satisfaction the formation of the British-India Society, and that it is expedient that all persons interested in the prosperity of India should give their hearty co-operation to its objects, in order to identify the interests of the inhabitants of this country with those of Great Britain.

Mr. T. proceeded:—It was well known to his native friends, especially to his friend, Dwarkanath Tagore, who stood behind him, prepared to second the motion, that he had never professed to propose

measures to them, which had for their object enabling them to govern themselves, looking forward to a period when the country should no longer form a part of the British Empire. He looked forward to no such period. If he thought that any measure would lead to such a result, he would not be the man to propose it; he would oppose it. He sought by every means in his humble power to support such measures as in his judgment would augment the splendour, and preserve the integrity of the British Empire—to extend and uphold its rule, including its foreign dependencies throughout the world, by all laudable means, so long as that rule was maintained on principles of equity, justice, and equal rights to all. But it was not as a conquered nation that he desired to retain the inhabitants of India as British subjects, but as brethren in every respect; as constituting a part of the kingdom of Great Britain as fellow-subjects—with the same feelings, the same interests and objects, and the same rights as the British-born inhabitants of England. He admired the principle adopted of old by the Romans, of incorporating their conquests with Rome, and granting to the conquered the privileges of Roman citizens. It had frequently been said, that the British rule in India was but the empire of the sword. He wished to see established in its place the empire of opinion. He thought one of the first and most important steps towards creating opinions in favor of the British rule in India, was the settlement of 1793. It was notorious that, where that extended, the people had the most attachment to the British Government—let the principle be extended throughout the British territories in the East, and the people will find it their interest to support the Government. If that were so, it was most impolitic to interfere or tamper with that settlement. It was, and it was considered by all here, a species of charter, a bargain between the governors and the governed, and it should be maintained in all its integrity. He stopped not to enquire whether or not, as was stated by the *Friend of India*, it supported an unequal and therefore unjust taxation; but, admitting it to be so, he still hoped to see, as anticipated by the *Friend of India*, “the eloquence of George Thompson, and the sarcasm of Lord Brougham,” employed in support of that good faith which was essential to the maintenance of the opinion of the people of India in favor of the British Government, under which they live, being that upon which they could best rely for the protection of their property and rights. This would be the best assurance which the Home Government could possess for the maintenance of their power. If the Association at home thought the same, they would support the objects of the Society here, not otherwise. He would now examine how far that Association merited the character which the *Friend of India* had assigned to it.

Mr. T. then proceeded to read various extracts from the article in the *Friend of India*, and compare them with passages in Lord Brougham's speech, with the whole of which he entirely concurred. With him, said Mr. T., I enter not into the question of the policy of the Government of India, in a national point of view; but I agree that "that dominion cannot be possessed without entailing a co-relative duty on England. She must govern it upon principles which consult the good of the millions of her subjects." Let her do that, and the empire of opinion will supersede the empire of the sword. Now let us see how far Lord Brougham attacks, or invites attacks upon the Company. Mr. T. then read the following passages:--

"It is a thing the furthest from any intention of mine upon this occasion to offer one single word in disparagement, or betokening the slightest disrespect for the 'Company.' I believe the intention of the Company to be good (Hear, hear). I believe the Company to have done all the good it can. I believe it has done immeasurable good to India. I believe that India, from the picture I am about to give, had cause much more loudly to complain when it was groaning under its native chiefs--the Mahomedan Government, or the Mogul of the country. The Company has succeeded to their dominion, has mitigated the hardship of their rule; has swayed a sceptre of good policy for which the natives of India have reason to be thankful. I believe, as firmly as I believe that I am at this moment in this Hall, that the natives of India owe a boundless debt of gratitude to the Company and to the people of England (Cheers). Much may have dictated their course--much of selfishness, as will always happen in the best of Governments, and as is always sure to happen most where those Governments are the least under popular control, may have existed, and much intolerance has necessarily arisen both in justice and in policy; but upon the whole, the government of India by the Company has redounded not more to the benefit of the Government than to the governed."

Mr. T. then proceeded:--In all this I agree entirely, and what Lord Brougham uttered in the hearing of the descendants of some of those very Mahomedan Princes whose Government he denounced, I do not hesitate to reiterate here. I believe the people of this country have sense and intelligence enough to feel, to know, to acknowledge that the Government of England is immeasurably superior in every respect to the Government of the best of the Mahomedan Princes which preceded it, and secures to them the possession of their property beyond what they could hope to expect from any Government which they could establish, if the British rule were put an end to. If, then, with these feelings towards the Company, Lord Brougham states the objects of the combination to be "in order first: to derive extensive information at

home as to the state of things in India; next, to point out the just wants of their fellow-subjects to the people at home; and lastly, to endeavour by discussion, and by all peaceful and moderate and temperate means to procure reformation of those abuses, and to cure those evils, would it become us on this side to hang back, to refuse that information they seek and ask?" Satisfied in my mind, said Mr. Turton, that benevolence and philanthropy are the motives which have originated the Society, and peaceful representation, discussion, and remonstrance, the means which they would employ. I recommend to your adoption the resolution which I have read.

Mr. Turton then adverted to the resolutions of the Society as published in the papers here, and said that he found nothing in them which alarmed him or led him to suppose that the objects of the Society were other than what they were described by Lord Brougham; and after some further observations, which we regret being unable to report at length, again read the resolution, and strongly recommending it to the adoption of the meeting, Mr. T. sat down in the midst of loud cheers.

Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore spoke to the following effect:—

GENTLEMEN,—After the able and eloquent manner in which my friends, Mr. Dickens and Mr. Turton, have explained to you the nature of the subject, especially the expediency of co-operating with the Society now formed in England for the benefit of this country, nothing remains for me to add, except a few remarks which my personal experience has suggested, and which have not been brought to your notice. It is a matter of congratulation to me and to all true friends of India that in a meeting convened chiefly for the purpose of co-operating with the Society in England, there are present landholders of the highest respectability. I am sure I cannot be wrong, were I to estimate the amount of Government revenue paid by those present at about a crore of rupees annually, being nearly a third of the aggregate land revenue of the permanently settled provinces. The last number of the *Friend of India*, adverting to the present meeting, charges the Landholders' Society with selfishness. I am willing to allow that self-love is the mainspring of human actions, and that every society has some particular object or objects in view, which it endeavours to accomplish; but before I plead guilty to the charge made by the *Friend of India* against this Institution, on the ground of its agitating the resumption question, I should like to be informed how many of the members of it possess rent-free land (*Hear, hear.*) I am certain very few indeed would be discovered. How then, I ask, can we be selfish in agitating the resumption question? (*Loud cheers.*) Is it then for ourselves or the people at large that we are

agitating this subject? I take no notice of what any Lord Bishop or Archbishop may say in England regarding an Indian question of which he knows nothing; but when I find the *Friend of India*, whose Editor is well acquainted with those subjects, endeavouring to mislead the public in the manner he has done in the present instance, I cannot divest my mind of the impression that he is guilty of wilful misrepresentation. Does Mr. Dickens, I ask the *Friend of India*, possess any lakheraj land?—yet Mr. Dickens, you all know, takes much interest, and a prominent part in our proceedings;—nay, he has devoted a large share of his valuable time to the service of this Institution, and has subscribed a sum which, I feel ashamed to acknowledge, has not been exceeded by any of our countrymen. Is this selfishness? Yet the *Friend of India* charges us with being selfish! Mr. W. F. Fergusson is another similar instance of disinterested liberality towards this Institution. Yet the *Friend of India* calls these men selfish, and their acts a conspiracy against the Government. It is not necessary to tell you that there is nothing in the character of this Society that has the remotest tendency to alienate the affections of the people of India from their rulers; on the contrary, the aim and end of all its endeavours is to strengthen that bond of union with which the two countries are linked, and to arrest the progress of the resumption, and all other operations which tend to make the British sway unpopular (*Loud cheers.*)

My friend, Mr. Dickens, has, upon general principles, fully explained the nature of these operations. I shall now, in support of his position, mention a fact pointing out the injustice and hardship of resuming rent-free tenures, on the ground of inability on the part of the lakherajdar to prove the registry of his sunrud. The Ranee Kateani, who is a member of this Association, and one of the few who possess rent-free lands, affords the instance I allude to. The property in question was sold by Government for arrears of rent due to the state by its former owner on account of his revenue lands. At the time of the sale it was declared to be rent-free, and purchased by the predecessors of the Ranee, upon the *bonâ fide* understanding, and at the *bonâ fide* value of rent-free estate. Now, Gentlemen, you will be a little surprised to hear that this very estate has since been resumed, because the present owner of it cannot shew the registry of her claim in the Collectorate of Behar, where it is well known the Government officers never kept a proper and complete registry as required by the Regulations.

But has resumption been the sole object of the attention of this Association? You need but look at the report that has been read to you to be convinced that many other questions of great importance to the people at large have engaged its time. To notice a few instances, I would mention the subject of the vernacular languages, in which the *Friend*

of India makes common cause with the Landholders' Society. Who I ask, are to benefit by the introduction of the vernacular, and its being freed from obsolete Sanscrit terms? Not I, not others who can understand them, but the poor ryots. Does this arise from a selfish feeling? Is it for the benefit of the lakherajdars only, that we wish to co-operate with the Society which has been formed in England for the amelioration of this country? The Landholders' Society has petitioned Government to reduce the duty on stamps for certain documents. Is this an act of selfishness? They have said, as stated in the Secretary's report just read to you, that they are endeavouring to render the condition of the poor witnesses more comfortable, by urging that maintenance be allowed to them in all cases where they are deprived of it under the prevailing practice. Does this arise from a selfish feeling? Take any or all of these facts, and you will find that, if anything can be called disinterested, it is the act of the Landholders' Society. I beg now to conclude, Gentlemen, by seconding Mr. Turton's motion.

The Chairman explained in Bengali the substance of what Mr. Turton and Dwarkanath Tagore had said, admitting that it was not in his power to inform the meeting of even a hundredth part of what had fallen from those gentlemen.

Baroo Bycootnauth Roy then moved the following resolution :—

Resolved that a Committee be formed to correspond on behalf of this Society with the London Society, and that their attention be particularly directed to the following objects :

1st.—The prevention of the resumption of rent-free tenures.

2nd.—The extension of the permanent settlement, or a measure of the same nature, to all British India.

3rd.—The reform of the Judicial Police and Revenue systems, for the better protection of all classes of the people.

4th.—The granting of waste lands to occupants on equitable terms, so as to encourage the application of capital to the soil of India.

In seconding this resolution, Mr. Leith spoke to the effect :—

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—I have great pleasure in seconding the motion which you have just heard read, and in doing so I cannot but congratulate you that a body, such as 'the British Indian Society,' has been organized to take under its fostering care the interests of the people of British India. The result of this union of men of all political views meeting on the neutral ground of philanthropy and benevolence, must be good to India, the declared and immediate object of the Society! (*Hear, hear.*) The talents, character, and zeal of the chief supporters of that Society must guarantee its usefulness, and must give it an influence which will command what has been so long wanting,

and so much desired, attention and consideration in the highest places, as well as among the general body of the people of Great Britain, to the wants and grievances of India. These, as you have already heard from my learned friend Mr. Turton, require but to be attentively considered and redress must follow (*Cheers.*) One of the leading members of "The British India Society" is Lord Brougham, a nobleman of whom you have already heard—one who is foremost in every scheme which has for its object the amelioration of the condition of human kind, without reference to color or clime. He was mainly instrumental in effecting, after years of labor and of hope deferred, the emancipation of the West India slaves, and happy am I to see that he is now devoting the gigantic powers of his comprehensive mind to ameliorate the condition of the millions of British India. I congratulate you on possessing a place in the thoughts, and being the objects of the exertions of this truly great man, whose indomitable zeal and perseverance, and commanding talents, must carry through to a successful issue whatever his philanthropy originates (*Cheers.*) Another of the leading men of the London Society, and differing widely in European politics from Lord Brougham, is Sir Charles Forbes, whom I am proud to call a friend. My learned friend, Mr. Turton, has already made honorable mention of Sir Charles Forbes, and I am happy in being able to bear testimony to the excellent qualities of his heart, and to his private worth, of which I have personal knowledge (*Hear, hear.*) But it is his public character which may most interest you, and this is best known by his exertions to promote the best interests of India. In his place in the House of Commons, in the India House, and whenever an occasion offered, he has been ever found the warm advocate and tried friend of the people of India, and in particular at a time when India had but few friends, and created little interest in the British Isles. Sir Charles Forbes is not less strongly acted upon by pure benevolence and philanthropy in coming forward as a member of "The British India Society" than my Lord Brougham, and possessing equal zeal in the cause of India, he brings with it a practical personal knowledge of the condition of the people, which a residence among them on the other side of India of a quarter of a century could not fail to supply. Since his return to England, he has never let slip an opportunity, nay, he has made opportunities, if I may be allowed the expression, to further the best interests of the people of India, and therefore well deserves to be called "The Benevolent Father of India" (*Cheers.*) It is with a body composed of such men that we are desirous of opening a direct correspondence, by means of a special committee, as mentioned in this motion; and it is with that body that we are desirous of co-operating to promote the Catholic object—the good of British India. I disclaim

and repudiate on their behalf, on yours, and on my own, the unfounded charge that either they or we advocate partial interests, or that either they or we are united to promote a factious opposition to the Government of the country, the head as well as the members of which I esteem and respect. And I sincerely believe and say, and each of you must admit, that the East India Company has done much good to India. And with reference to this charge which appears in the columns of the *Friend of India*, I cannot but express my deep regret that the Editor, who is a personal friend, and whose talent I respect, should have so far forgotten himself, and the declared principles of his paper, as to attack those who have associated themselves with the purest and most disinterested motives and the most benevolent object—an object, hitherto kept in view, and aimed at by the Editor of that paper, as I sincerely believe—the good of India, which has, however, been lost sight of in penning the before-mentioned article,—an article I must say, little to be expected from one calling himself a friend of India! (*Hear, hear.*) I should have thought the character of the men composing “The British India Society” would have protected them against the charge of misrepresentation which I regret to find in that paper (*Hear, hear.*) In reading the report of their speeches, the wonder is not that a few mistakes, as to local circumstances, have crept in, but rather that there are so few mistakes, considering that several of those who spoke have never been in the country of which they were speaking. But I deny that there is any important mistake (much less any intentional error or “misrepresentation,” of which he is incapable) in Lord Brougham’s speech, which I have most carefully read over again and again.

I know that it has been said in some quarters that Lord Brougham is in error when he states that “Lord Cornwallis’s arrangement in 1793 gave 18 shillings out of every 20 shillings to the Government, by way of rent, and the two shillings that remained were to be for the laborer and owner.”

He is not in error; for although the rates to be received by the Government and zemindar out of the produce of the land under the permanent settlement were not declared in British sterling money, yet they were declared and fixed in very nearly the same proportion in numbers as 18 shillings bears to 20 shillings. The rate fixed by the permanent settlement for the zemindar to receive was just 10 per cent. on the amount of revenue realized by Government, after allowing 5 per cent. for the expenses of collection (in which the Government was equally, but in a larger proportion, interested with the zemindar), so it is exactly in the proportion stated, for 10 per cent. bears the same proportion to 100 per cent. as 2 shillings bear to 20 shillings. And need I, in confirmation of the accuracy of the statement, refer you to the 44th

Section of Regulation VIII of 1793, by which the allowance which the zemindars are to have, in consideration of their proprietary rights, is expressly fixed by Government at 10 per cent. Oh! but, say the objectors, the zemindars of Bengal now receive much more than this: if they do, this in no way proves that the original settlement was liberal, and cannot be urged as a ground for taking from them their lakheraj, rent-free, or any other description of lands. The solemn engagement of the Government with the zemindars, set out in Regulation I of 1793, which declares that they were to consider the orders fixing the amount of the assessment as irrevocable, and not liable to alteration by any persons whom the Court of Directors might thereafter appoint to the administration of their affairs in this country, and that they and their heirs and lawful successors would be allowed to hold their estates at such assessment for ever, cannot be receded from by the Government, either by directly raising the amount of the annual assessment, or by indirectly doing the same thing by assessing or resuming their lands. It was not until the Local Government had ascertained what amount of land revenue the Court of Directors would be satisfied with drawing from the whole of the lands in Bengal that the permanent settlement was made. The amount settled was even more than the Court's limit, and large that amount certainly was, and most diligent and most laborious were the Government servants then employed to raise that amount, which was 79,48,677 Sicca Rupees, nearly 80 lakhs of rupees in excess of what our Mahomedan predecessors, governors of the country, could draw from it. This excess appeared as early as the year 1765-66, and we can be at no loss to ascertain the actual condition of the zemindars, or the fact that they were then taxed above what they could well afford to pay, for this appears from the Governor-General's minute, dated 3rd February 1790, an extract from which I shall read to you. "I am sorry to be obliged to acknowledge it, but it is a truth too evident to deny, that the land proprietors, throughout the whole of the Company's provinces, are in a general state of poverty and depression. I cannot even except the principal zemindars from these observations, and it is not without concern that I saw it verified very lately in one instance by the Rajah of Burdwan, who pays a yearly rent of upwards of £400,000 to Government, having allowed some of his valuable land to be sold for the discharge of a considerable balance due to Government."

The truth of this sad picture is confirmed by the fact that in about six years from the date of the permanent settlement, nearly one-third of the whole of the lands within the permanent settlement were sold for arrears of Government revenue, and only realized the paltry sum of 65 lakhs of rupees, not one year's purchase, while the whole of the settled

lands were assessed at about 3 crores of rupees annually! (*Hear, hear.* And not one of the larger zemindaries (with the exception of Burdwan) is now in the family which had it at the time of the Government settlement, all having been sold to satisfy arrears of Government revenue, and having passed into other hands, and you know that the last thing a Hindoo will part with is his ancestral lands (*Hear, hear.*) Out of the 24 zemindaries comprised in the Dewanny portion of the settled lands, I shall select the cases of two or three as illustrations of what I have said. The zemindar of *Rajshahye* was the greatest territorial lord throughout Bengal, perhaps throughout Hindoostan, the extent of his lands being nearly 13,000 square miles, and the annual amount of Government revenue at which these were assessed being about 25 lakhs of rupees, or about 250,000 pounds sterling! The whole of this princely domain has been swept away from the family, and has passed into the hands of strangers in minute divisions and sub-divisions, under the rigorous operation of the permanent settlement law, and through means of sales by the Government Collectors to make good arrears of Government revenue. All that was left to the family for its support was some lakheraj or rent-free land, and that is now in the hands of the Government for resumption! The zemindar of *Dinajpore* was the proprietor of 4,119 square miles of land which composed his zemindary, and not a biggah remains to the family. All have been sold to make good the deficiency of the amount of the Government revenue at which they were assessed. He had no extensive lakheraj lands to fall back upon, and from which he could derive his subsistence, and all that the family now have to support themselves upon, are some lands purchased with the moneys obtained by them on a sale of the jewels of their females, as was proved in a suit in the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut respecting those purchased lands. The last I shall name is the zemindar of *Nuddoa*, who held 3,151 square miles of beautiful arable fertile lands in the neighbourhood of flourishing European establishments, which improved and increased the resources of the zemindar through a means of the commercial and agricultural pursuits; but all could not save the lands, which have been sold, and have passed away like those I have already particularized. The lakheraj lands of the family have been resumed. And thus the descendants of *Rajah Kissonchunder Roy*, the man who rendered service to the Company while acquiring and settling the country, are now reduced to beggary. But I am glad to say that although revenue sales and resumption laws have deprived them of their ancestral possessions, that the benevolence and liberality of the members of the Local Government have inclined them, as I am told, to consider the propriety of granting those needy descendants a pension to save them from absolute want. But

let me pass on from this sad picture to the more pleasing task of considering the progressive improvement of the incomes of the present zemindars of Bengal. This is not denied, and, no doubt, the permanency of the settlement has had no inconsiderable effect in promoting this improvement; and let it not be forgotten that British enterprise, skill, and money have been mainly instrumental in increasing the means of the zemindars. At the time of the permanent settlement, there was little or no indigo cultivation, and now there are at least 25 lakhs of biggahs of land under indigo cultivation, the rent of which, calculated on an average at one rupee per biggah, will give to the zemindar 25 lakhs of rupees annually. But it must not be forgotten that the expenditure of the zemindars' own capital and labor on the assessed lands, as well as on waste lands, has materially improved them; and consequently improved the income of the zemindars, and to effect these objects, was the declared object of the Government in making a permanent settlement. And we must not lose sight of the fact that the zemindar is not alone benefited by this increase of cultivation, for the Government receives a corresponding legitimate benefit in the shape of duties levied by it on the export of the country's produce. The zemindary of Burdwan, which is the only one of the present zemindaries which remains, will best illustrate and prove the accuracy of Lord Brougham's statement as to the relative shares of the Government and zemindar in the profits of the soil, for the whole of that zemindary leased out under putnee leases to cultivators. The lessees lay out the money necessary for improving the land, and, of course, receive the interest of their money, and a return for the labor they expend in the shape of profits. All that the zemindar gets is his rent as landlord, and it appeared, as I understand, on recent investigation made by an experienced and talented Commissioner of the Government, deputed for that purpose, that, while the Government received annually about 92 lakhs of rupees, or about 320,000 pounds sterling, that the zemindar received about 5 lakhs of rupees, or about 50,000 pounds sterling, which, after making a deduction of 5 per cent. for the expenses of collection, will give to the zemindar, in proportion to what is received by the Government, nearly the rate stated by my Lord Brougham. But let me return to the motion which I hold in my hand, the object of which is to appoint a special committee to give information to the London Society. In doing this we are but acting in accordance with their own wishes, for it appears by the speech of my Lord Brougham, that they are desirous of enquiring into your circumstances, in order to publish the information which they may acquire among the people of Great Britain. The London Society have all the will and the power, to assist you; they only seek for that local information which will enable

them to exercise that power most beneficially for you. The particular points to which the attention of our committee is directed is—1st, “The prevention of the resumption of rent-free tenures.” The question of the justice or expediency of the Government resuming their lands, has been so ably and eloquently discussed by my learned friend, Mr. Dickens, that it would be a work of supererogation on my part were I to attempt to follow him. The 2nd point is—“The extension of the permanent settlement, or a measure of the same nature to all British India.” And I cannot more forcibly put this than in the words of Lord Cornwallis, in arguing the expediency of a permanent settlement in 1789, and with him I may say a great part of the Company’s territory in Hindoostan is now a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts. And with him I may ask now, will a ten years’ lease induce any proprietor to clear away that jungle, and encourage the ryots to come and cultivate his lands; when, at the end of that lease, he must either submit to be taxed *ad libitum* for his newly cultivated lands, or lose all hopes of deriving any benefit from his labor, for which, perhaps by that time, he will hardly be repaid? Notwithstanding all the hardships that was experienced by the original zemindars in consequence of the high rate of the land assessment, there is no question that the permanency of the assessment, as established by the East India Company, has been most beneficial to the settled provinces. The present condition of the zemindars and ryots, and of the lands, in the settled provinces, as compared with those of the provinces not settled, is the best proof of the beneficial working of the permanent settlement. The 3rd point—“Reform of the judicial police and revenue systems so as to give more protection to all classes of the people.” I need not tell you that the first duty of every Government is to give security to the lives and property of its subjects; and I need not tell you that the people of this country have not that security to the extent which we and the Government could desire. I am, however, happy to say that the attention of the most talented and experienced in the Government service is at this moment, under the directions of our able and excellent Governor-General, directed to this subject, with the view of introducing a more perfect system of police. In bringing this subject to your notice, I cannot but observe upon the unfounded charge brought against this Society of advocating merely partial interests, and attending to the interests of a section of the community—the zemindars who compose the society—forgetting or overlooking the interests of the ryots. This is untrue. In proof that the contrary is the fact, I have but to appeal to our past recorded resolutions, which you have heard read and commented upon by my friend Dwarkanath Tagore. I disclaim for myself the unworthy motives ascribed, as well as any such partial views as those ascribed to

the Society of which I am a member, I have not a single biggah of land in India, and I expect to be believed, when I assert, as is the truth, that I am as desirous of promoting the interests of the poorest ryot, as of the poorest or wealthiest zemindar, and that I would not lend myself to make a factious opposition to the Government, which I respect. But I consider the interests of the ryot and zemindar so far identical; for if the zemindar be oppressed or overburthened, the ryot must necessarily be so too. If the zemindar be taxed above the fair income of his land, the poor ryot must be in proportion overworked and depressed. Remove the pressure on the zemindar, and the pressure will be removed from the ryot—this is one of the objects which we have in view in seeking a permanent tax on land, instead of a fluctuating one, which must act as a clog on industry and improvement. If the ryot should be oppressed, let the Government enact protecting laws; they have the power, for this is expressly reserved to them by the resolution which declared the permanent settlement in 1793. We respectfully ask the Government to exercise this power. And who, think you, is most interested in a reform of the judicial and police system, the zemindar or ryot? The zemindar may purchase justice, and under the present system is, I am afraid, compelled to do so (*Hear, hear.*) The poor ryot cannot. It is to his door, as well as to the zemindar's, that we wish justice to be brought, and it is to his life and property that we ask the Government to yield protection (*Cheers.*) The 4th point to which the attention of the committee is directed is,—“The granting of waste lands to occupants on equitable terms, so as to encourage the application of capital to the soil of India.” That there are large tracts of country still lying waste you well know, which are the habitations of wild animals, instead of the habitations of an industrious people. That there are those who would gladly clear those lands cannot be doubted, as we find that large tracts of the wastes of Goruckpore have been taken by enterprising individuals, who have already cleared much of the deep forests and thick jungle, and have in their place cultivated crops of the staple articles of commerce, indigo and sugar, and who have benefited by the outlay of British capital the ryots whom they employ, and who hold lands under them for the cultivation of grain (*Hear, hear.*) Something, although little, has also been done with grants in the Soonderbunds, and we had a fair prospect of seeing that wilderness cleared, and become fruitful, and the salubrity of Calcutta itself, and of the neighbouring country improved, but this prospect was destroyed by orders which, unfortunately for Calcutta and India, generally have put a stop to further applications for grants in that quarter (*Hear, hear.*) The jungle mehals, my friend, Mr. Turton, has incidentally mentioned. This is another waste, covered with a dense forest, the land of which,

it cleared, would afford the means of subsistence to thousands and thousands of the people of this country, and open a new field for the exertions of British enterprise, and open a new channel for the flow of British wealth, so that if grants were made by Government, we might see, instead of a useless forest, and a half savage population in its neighbourhood, fields smiling with plenty and a civilized and happy peasantry. Such are the subjects embodied in the motion which I rose to second. (*Cheers.*)

The Chairman, as before, briefly explained the resolution and the purport of the speech in Bengali; and having put it to the vote, it was carried *nem. con.*

Mr. G. J. Gordon, with a few appropriate observations, moved the following resolution:—

5th.—Resolved that the following gentlemen be appointed the committee of correspondence:—

T. Dickens, Esq., Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore, Rajah Radhakanth Bahadoor, Baboo Kalinauth Roy, Baboo Ramrutton Roy, Baboo Ramcomul Sen, Cowar Kissennauth Roy Bahadoor, G. F. Remfry, Esq., W. Fergusson, Esq., James Hume, Esq., and T. J. Taylor, Esq.

This was seconded by Baboo Radhapersaud Roy, and being put by the Chairman, was carried unanimously.

Mr. W. F. Fergusson, with a few brief remarks, moved the following resolution:—

6th.—That a subscription be opened to establish a permanent parliamentary agency in England, and that each member subscribing annually be bound to continue his subscription for five years, or a payment in lieu thereof. That the following gentlemen be appointed a special committee to carry the above resolution into effect:—

Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore, Mr. Leith, Mr. Remfry, and Mr. Vint.

In seconding the above resolution, Baboo Ramcomul Sen made a very neat and appropriate speech, of which the following is the substance:—

In seconding the resolution (made by Mr. Fergusson), I wish to say something in support of it. We have been patient during the last fifty years, relying on the dharma (the deity from heaven) and depending on the dharmavatus (the public functionaries in India.) Now compare the condition of the zemindars alone prior to 1793 and in 1839, and say whether they have been raised or reduced; if they are fallen we should no longer be silent in seeking redress and amelioration by making our situation known to the *dharmavatus* in England; this is the best opportunity offered to us, and we should without delay join the Society established in London, where we must have an agent; the name of one of the leading men in the Association is known to us (by

public prints) and from his character and philanthropic acts, no doubt, we shall have benefit. The agency will cost you some expense, but it will not be one-tenth of the cost incurred by the zemindar in the Collectors and Judges and Magistrates' cutchery annually, and 9-10ths will be saved at the end."

This being put from the chair, and briefly explained in Bengali, was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. Hume, in moving the next resolution, spoke to the following effect:—

At a meeting of the Landholders' Society, there are few resolutions that could be entrusted to me, a comparative stranger, or that I could venture to introduce to your notice; but the one that has been put into my hands is so extremely simple, that a man need but be acquainted with two facts to justify his speaking upon it. Those facts, Gentlemen, are, that this country labors under many grievances, and that a Society has been formed in England to aid you in obtaining redress. On a former occasion, when we met to address the Government on the subject of the overland communication with India, I took the opportunity—I thought it a legitimate one—of alluding to the formation of the British India Association. Without further preface, I shall read to you the resolution that is before me. 'Resolved, that the thanks of this Society be given to Lord Brougham and the other founders of the British India Association.' It is not my intention, Gentlemen, to repeat the humble tribute I paid to the nobleman whose name you have just heard, on the occasion to which I have alluded, though I might doubtless do so without the risk of wearying you, as the people, no matter of what country or clime, are good and ready bankers when drawn upon for praise in favor of the man, or men, who may have labored in their cause. Such a man is Lord Brougham, and such are those who have associated themselves with him in the noble cause of justice to India. Of that great man, whose character has been so ably drawn to-day, and whose merits have been so well appreciated, I shall simply say that, with a heart that embraces as much of human sympathies as his vast mind embraces of human knowledge, and with an eloquence always commanding, and frequently irresistible, you would have, even though he stood alone, a giant in your cause.

Gentlemen, I could not with propriety have called upon you to respond favorably to this resolution, had not the report, which I hold in my hand, of the meeting of the British India Association, been cleared from the charge of exaggeration and misrepresentation which has been brought against it by the *Friend of India*, and had not the calumny directed against this, the Landholders' Society, been triumphantly refuted. The speakers who have preceded me accomplished these tasks

so effectually that it is not necessary I should follow in their steps, yet I cannot forbear expressing my opinion of the article of which you have heard so much to-day, and pronouncing it a calumnious libel—a libel for which the writer has not the excuse that might be fairly offered on behalf of speakers at a public meeting if they were guilty of some exaggeration, that they spoke in the enthusiasm of the moment, when warmed upon their subject, and addressing a popular assembly. Here the writer has deliberately prepared a statement in the quiet of his own chamber, and deliberately printed it,—a statement which, if the report we have heard read, and the speeches we have listened to to-day, be true, must be false. In the first place, let me observe, that the *Friend of India*—God defend us from our *friends*, and we'll take care of our enemies—the *Friend of India* declares that the Society at home is a very unsafe guide to the truth. Gentlemen, there are among you here, those who have not only talked, but written, who have committed their opinions and judgment to the test of publication, the best criterion of their belief in the truth of the faith avowed by your friends in England. Let us see how he proceeds: “It is admirably adapted as a receptacle for the resentments of the Native Landholders.” This is something more than an insinuation that it is such a receptacle, which I again say is false. It is a Society established to promote the general interests of the country, and the temperate language of their resolutions as read to you by my friend, Mr. Turton, corroborates this. Now, let us read what is written by the *Friend of India*, touching this Society. He says: “The Landholders’ Society, on the other hand, represents but one local interest; and that the interest of the strong and not the weak.” Is that true? It cannot be, if there be truth in your Secretary’s report, if there be truth in the speech you heard from Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore, confirming that report. One local interest! Has not the Society addressed Government on the propriety of reducing a part of the stamp duty; of equalizing the duty on Indian tobacco with that of the produce of other countries; of introducing the vernacular tongue into your Native Courts, instead of dead Sanscrit, which has followed on the abolition of the Persian; and last, though not least, of providing maintenance for the lower classes of ryots when called to a distance as witnesses in criminal cases?

That your Society has done these things, and not without a favourable reception by the Government, is a fact that the *Friend of India* cannot get over. Your annual report assures you of it, a report prepared before it was ever surmised that such an article could appear in such a paper. Gentlemen, I must say a word or two upon the charge of exaggeration brought against the speakers at the first meeting of the British India Association. I have carefully read the report of what was said,

and I must in common candour admit, that I have found one solitary instance of exaggeration. It is in Lord Brougham's speech, and that part of it in which he bestows so much praise upon the East India Company. Gentlemen, I say that such praise was an exaggeration, and was wholly uncalled for. With the general assertion that the Company had done much good for India, I might not be inclined to quarrel, but when he says it has done all it could do, and seeks to exonerate it from the blame of that state of things which called you into existence, and not only you, but the very Society in which he was speaking, I say it is unjustifiable adulation, the more unjustifiable that Lord Brougham could not have forgotten that at the very time, the question of improving the communication between the two countries—the first great step towards the reciprocation of benefits—had hold of the public mind, that the people here and at home were clamorous upon the subject, that the Government was friendly to the proposed measure, and willing to pay one-half of the necessary expense, and that the Company and the Company alone was the drag upon the wheel, the sole obstacle to this most important step. I blame Lord Brougham for this—he was more generous than just, it was a weak moment—nevertheless, gentlemen, I call upon you to thank him and those associated with him. The *Friend of India* has said, that no doubt the rhetorical misrepresentations which he charges to have been put forth by the members of the London Society would be repudiated and reprobated here to-day. If you have heard anything of the British India Society to repudiate or reprobate do not give the thanks I propose, but if you believe that your friends at home intend to serve you, thank them for their intention already carried into action, and direct your reprobation and repudiation to the self-named *Friend of India*. You have been told, and truly, that the British India Association is a body of men of all parties in politics, linked in one common cause, the regeneration of India; there can be nothing factious in what they do, for faction could not be formed of such dissentients in all opinions but the one that has drawn them together, viz., that it is incumbent on the British people to exert themselves on behalf of their fellow-subjects here. They are a body of men comprising all that is great in birth, station, talent, and private worth, they are men who will be your unwearied advocates in both Houses of Parliament, and who, let me express this upon you, will be the best judges of the fitness of the men who shall be your immediate representatives in the House of Commons if you carry out, as I cannot doubt you will, the proposition that has been sanctioned to-day, and who will ensure with the least possible delay, and the smallest possible expense, their introduction into Parliament, where beyond question they can most effectually serve you. Again, I say, thank them, and let the report of

this meeting be as grateful to their feelings as the report of their proceedings, put for facility of distribution into the pamphlet shape, was to yours. I need not tell you that the praise of the people is the most acceptable reward that patriotism can receive. In a distant land they are fighting,—the *Friend of India* says a crusade—it is a crusade, for it is a holy war in behalf of your liberties.

"'Tis liberty alone, that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
And we are weeds without it."

I speak not of liberty as a freedom from shackles alone, there is a tyranny more odious than that of the body,—the tyranny of the mind, a power more hateful than that which binds a poor wretch in chains and confines him to a dungeon,—the power that curbs his energy of action in honourable pursuits, that cramps his faculties, limits his speculations, denies his means, and would keep him comparatively helpless that he may be more easily oppressed. Although, as I have told you, there is a mighty voice raised in your behalf, a voice which triumphing in the emancipation of the West, is now heard in behalf of the freedom of the East, indulge not too readily in sanguine hopes of immediate success; all the energy and genius of the world cannot at once break down the strongholds of corruption that years have been building up; but, on the other hand, you need not despair, you are engaged in a cause not often unsuccessful, and the best incentive you can have to continued exertion, is the knowledge that

"Power usurp'd
Is weakness when opposed."

The learned gentleman concluded by moving the following resolution:—

7th.—Resolved, that the thanks of the Society be given to Lord Brougham and the other founders of the British India Association.

Mr. Turton, in seconding the above resolutions, spoke as follows:—

He said he seized with avidity and thankfulness the opportunity which was afforded to him by those who managed the business of the meeting, to second the vote of thanks which his learned friend proposed to Lord Brougham. The number of years of Lord Brougham's life which had been devoted to the assistance of every measure of benevolence, to every measure which had for its object amelioration or instruction of mankind in general, entitled him to the thanks of every one who pretended to any sympathy with his fellow-men, and on this occasion more peculiarly to all who felt and knew the difficulty there was in

exciting an interest in England, or obtaining an audience there upon Indian subjects, for which Lord Brougham was now attempting to find a remedy, which he (Mr. T.) trusted would be complete. But he (Mr. T.) had another motive to make him anxious not to remain in the rear, when a vote of thanks was proposed to Lord Brougham. He (Mr. T.) had known Lord B. personally (everybody had known him publicly) for many years, during which he had always found him a sincere friend, and he had a deep debt of gratitude to pay him, which he did most readily from the heart. He did not mean to have said anything upon any other subject but Lord B., but with reference to some observations of his learned friend upon the *Friend of India*, he felt bound to offer a few remarks. For one error in judgment, in an article which appeared to him (Mr. T.) to have been somewhat hastily penned, he could not look upon a person as the enemy of India, who had written many articles in favor of its inhabitants. Chance had thrown in his (Mr. T.'s) way a file of that paper on his voyage out, and he was much struck with the justice of its observations, the soundness of its remarks, and the moderation of its views on all subjects, even on that on which the Editor might have been expected to have been most rigid, and feeling this, he should be sorry to convert a friend into an enemy, or to use harsh expressions of one whom he still considered (self-styled or not) the *Friend of India*, although he (Mr. T.) had that day endeavoured to shew him in error. He trusted that on consideration the Editor of that paper would be satisfied it was not a just character which he had bestowed on the society. It was impossible not to think that the article was penned in haste, when the Society at home were represented as accusing the Government of causing famines. They did no such thing. They said the roads were neglected, and the internal communication was bad. That this was true, whether from necessity or neglect, would not be denied, and hence they said, one province of that large empire might be overfed whilst another is starved. This was to state a fact—not to accuse the Government of occasioning famines. Nor could he (Mr. T.) agree with his friend Mr Hume, that Lord Brougham had overstated or improperly landed the Company in the passage which he (Mr. T.) had read, the praise was very properly qualified. The position and difficulties in which they were placed were also properly adverted to, and taking the whole together, he (Mr. T.) could not but approve of all contained in the report of Lord B.'s speech. He (Mr. T.) would not longer detain the meeting from the resolution of thanks to Lord Brougham. Thanks must always appear to the giver a poor reward for valuable services; but next to the consciousness of deserving them, it was always most grateful to a feeling heart and noble disposition, to find that his conduct had been appreciated by those whom he had

endeavoured to serve, and had excited the gratitude of his fellow-men. Such poor reward for us to give, concluded Mr. Turton, I call upon you unanimously to offer to Lord Brougham and the other founders of the society at home, who will more highly estimate them than they may appear to you to deserve.

The whole being explained by the Chairman, Mr. Hume's resolution was put and carried *nem con.*

Mr. Remfrey spoke to the following effect:—

The resolution you have given me the honour of proposing is one which would claim all the eloquence of those, more able to speak, who have preceded me; it is a vote of thanks to an individual who has ever been devoted to the cause of India and her best interests, and the zeal and effects of whose co-operation are worthy of your gratitude—this individual is Mr. John Crawford. Many of you will recollect him personally as a resident here 12 or 14 years ago; his intelligence then recommended him to the Government, and he was sent on an embassy to Siam.

Afterwards, in England, he wrote a book on "The History of the Indian Archipelago,"—replete with information,—and this was the means to draw public attention to the eastern world. You may witness the influence of that attraction by looking to the thriving colonies that have lately sprung up at Singapore and all along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal. Subsequently, Mr. Crawford sought an opportunity to benefit India in welcoming the first public Association formed in India, the Trade Association, and in a letter to the Chairman, he pointed out various useful objects claiming attention from that body, offering at the same time disinterested services in their aid in England; and it may be mentioned, in proof of his sincerity, that on being called upon to forward or present a petition to both Houses of Parliament, on the subject of ameliorating the duties levied on Indian produce, he refused to receive any remuneration for extraordinary efforts in obtaining that object. Latterly, if you look for instances of Mr. Crawford's desire to serve India, I refer you to his correspondence and to his service on behalf of the "Landholders' Society." The influence of his character as a man of facts, in defending which the public have never been misled, has made public men of the first talent see there are inducements to look well after our eastern possessions, and we may congratulate ourselves that we have so able a representative at the elbows of men of influence at home, to give data for their working out the real interests of this country and of its inhabitants.

He concluded by moving the following resolution:—

8th.—That the thanks of the Society be given to John Crawford, Esq. for his long, zealous, and disinterested attention to the interests of British India.

This was seconded by Rajah Rajnarain in a Bengali speech, of which the following is a free translation:—

GENTLEMEN,—In seconding the proposition made by Mr. Remfry, I beg to observe, that the long and elaborate speeches by which our friends, Mr. Turton, Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore, and Mr. Dickens, have communicated the objects of this meeting, the present state of the country, the oppression we suffer, and the means to be adopted to stop the progress of the evil, have left nothing for me to speak upon. To say, therefore, anything on the subject will be wearing out your patience. I shall, therefore, be as brief as possible.

To see at a time when the Government is busily engaged in the resumption of rent-free tenures, in defiance of all the rules of justice and humanity, so many of my countrymen assembled in a public place, to raise their common voice in favour of their suffering countrymen—to see, I say, such good feeling at so critical a time, I feel a degree of pleasure which I am sorry I want words to express, and which certainly affords a fair hope that we shall succeed in gaining the object we have in view, for the Government has already agreed to give up half of their claims upon rent-free lands. This at once proves, Gentlemen, that the resumption operations are not consistent with justice. It can reasonably be conjectured that, having found it very difficult to resume the whole, the Government wants to take the half, as the Bengali adage says, “When it is difficult to take the whole it is prudent for wise men to be satisfied with half.” To make an appeal to the authorities in England seems to me to be the best remedy. It is therefore advisable that a coalition be made with the British India Society lately established, with the avowed object of rendering benefit to the natives of this country; in that society are to be found many well-wishers of India, amongst whom Mr. John Crawford, the founder of the institution, deserves our highest commendation and the warmest thanks of gratitude.

Mr. Turton rose, and said that he also had the satisfaction to enjoy the personal friendship of Mr. Crawford, and therefore he could not allow this resolution to pass with a silent vote, especially as he himself was under particular obligations to Mr. Crawford for taking the management of the petitions with which he (Mr. T.) was intrusted, during his absence in America. He need not assure the meeting that this business had been attended to by Mr. Crawford with the utmost zeal and devotion, though unfortunately the objects of the petitioners had not been attained. But he also wished to express his deliberate opinion, that India has not in England a warmer friend than Mr. Crawford, and certainly no one who brings to her cause the same amount of knowledge with the same business-like habits and untiring industry. He therefore

joined most cordially in the proposed resolution, which he could not doubt would have their unanimous concurrence.—

Mr. Dickens made the following remarks on this resolution :—

I cannot let a vote of thanks to my friend John Crawford be moved and give it merely the support of a silent vote. Long and disinterested services, most truly does the resolution say, he has given to the best interests of British India. Indeed, if length of time as well as disinterestedness be coupled and considered together, he is not only one of the first among the foremost men in England entitled to our thanks as friends of India, but the very foremost man of all—I do not take up the consideration of his career at a very early period either in saying so. I do not at the moment speak of his useful services and researches in Java and the Indian Archipelago, of his embassies to Siam and Ava, of his wise, politic, and liberal government while resident at Singapore, but I speak of him from the period of his return to England, since which time he has been at all times, and on every question, the laborious and untiring advocate of the just claims of all classes of the inhabitants of British India. In 1827 he went home as the accredited and paid agent of the inhabitants of Calcutta, in order to oppose the confirmation of the Stamp Act. Before the Council out of doors, and with the members of the House of Commons, then unreformed, he did his very utmost in the performance of an arduous and hopeless task, and well earned remuneration that was honourable both to the giver and receiver. When that mission ceased, he became the unpaid advocate and agent of the inhabitants of this place and of the natives of India generally, during the whole discussion that preceded and accompanied the renewal of the Company's Charter. No doubt Mr. Buckingham and many others did do us essential services in the great questions then under discussion, and particularly in the abolition of the monopoly of the trade to China, and the removal of obstruction to free trade with India; but the burden of the labour in the Committee of Houses, the preparation of questions, the bringing up and selecting of witnesses, the conversation with the members who were friendly to us, but as usual wholly uninstructed in Eastern affairs, this labour, comparatively obscure, inglorious, but absolutely essential, was cheerfully, ably, indefatigably volunteered for, persevered, and thoroughly well performed by John Crawford. He won, though unarmed, modest and unobtrusive—I may say with perfect truth and without an iota of poetical exaggeration, though I use the words of a poet, "the living soul of all." Since that period he has never been idle. Numerous are the pamphlets and articles he has written on the subject of the salt monopoly, and the unequal duties still weighing on Indian commerce. When the opposition to the Black Act required his aid, again was he

found a staunch friend and volunteer combatant. When the Landholders' Society was formed, he proffered his able services, and few men have been more active and efficient in forming the British India Society, which now tenders to you its powerful aid and co-operation, and with which I hope we shall soon be closely linked in bands of friendly intercourse.

I am proud to call John Crawford my friend, and I may truly say (though it may seem like praising myself, which is not what I mean) that the cause of our acquaintance, as the bond of our union, has been his devotion to the interests of India. It is not, however, because I am his friend that I say these things in his praise, or recommend him to your notice as one of your best agents in England, but because I am perfectly convinced that in point of statistical, political, and commercial knowledge of the British possessions in the East, there are very few men—if there be any one man—who can be compared with him, and because he has been a long-tried, zealous, and proved friend and servant of ours, and the cause which we advocate."

It was then proposed by Mr. Turton, seconded by Mr. Leith, and resolved unanimously—

That the thanks of this meeting be given to Rajah Radhakanth Deb, for his able performance of the duty of Chairman.

Several letters from Dacca, Jullapore, Chittagong, and other places, intended by the writers to be read at the meeting, containing various details of grievances, were referred to the committee for more deliberate consideration.

The meeting then adjourned, every one apparently quite satisfied with the business of the day.—*Hurkaru*, Dec. 14 and 16.

APPENDIX B.

TESTIMONIAL TO DWARKANATH TAGORE.

(*From the Englishman*, January 8, 1842).

THE meeting called for the purpose of offering some testimony of the esteem and regard of this community for Dwarkanath Tagore, was held yesterday at the Town Hall, pursuant to public notice.

The Sheriff having stated the business for which the meeting was called, Mr. Turton rose to move the address proposed, and after reading

it, spoke in a strain of feeling eloquence of Dwarkanath's many claims to the esteem and regard, not only of this community, but of the people of India. Among many proofs cited by Mr. Turton of the charity, the princely munificence of this excellent man, to all without distinction of creed, or caste, or color, he stated, that besides Dwarkanath's splendid contribution to the District Charitable Society, it was entirely owing to his admirable suggestions that that society owed its present flourishing condition. Mr. Turton cited for this interesting fact the authority of Sir Edward Ryan, and informed the meeting that that gentleman would have himself been present on this memorable occasion but for the pressure of official duties, and that he fully concurred in the address, and was prepared to join in any tribute which might be proposed to the merits of Dwarkanath Tagore. Mr. Turton observed that Dwarkanath was the first, if not the only native gentleman who ever went to Europe without any object of personal or pecuniary advantage, stimulated alone by that curiosity, and that desire of enlarging his ideas by a wider survey of the human race, which are the attributes of the intellectual mind; and he justly remarked that, if the natives had, after the utmost deliberation, selected or elected a man fit to represent them, and to raise the estimate formed at home of native gentlemen, they could not have fixed on one better calculated to secure this object, or more worthy in every way of their choice.

We beg, however, to be understood as not pretending to convey any adequate idea of Mr. Turton's eloquence, still less, of course, of the feeling tone and manner which marked the earnestness and sincerity of the speaker. No report that can be published will do justice to him or to several other speakers on this occasion in these respects; but the address when it appears will be found to embody the substance of what Mr. Turton stated, and of the sentiments of the other gentlemen who addressed the meeting, though the written record, ably as it is drawn up by a master hand, will be, indeed, but a feeble echo of the vivid eloquence of the spoken words, which elicited the loud and repeated cheers of the meeting.

Mr. Mansell, late of Agra, now Deputy Accountant-General, seconded the address, in a speech which we have seldom, if ever, heard surpassed in eloquence in the Town Hall, in which we have heard so admirable orations. He claimed the character of Dwarkanath as the property, not of Calcutta—of Bengal, but of British India; and spoke of it as widely known and esteemed throughout the country. We never heard a more emphatic speaker, or one who more deeply impressed on his hearers the impression that he spoke from the heart, and that even in the North-Western Provinces, where he has so long resided, he had learned to appreciate truly, and to honor, as they deserved to be

honored, the merits of a native gentleman of this city, who has stood forward on all occasions of noble example of exalted moral courage, of lofty integrity of intellectual culture, and of a liberality which has never been equalled among his countrymen, and never exceeded anywhere. It is true, indeed, as Mr. Turton remarked, that Dwarkanath was happily possessed of means to act up to the generous dictates of his heart, and that he had an understanding to give to those dictates a wise direction; but how many of his countrymen possess equal wealth, and therefore equal power to confer equal benefits on the community, and yet how few have followed his noble example. We say this rather in sorrow than in anger—not with a view to reproach, but to stimulate our native friends to follow the bright path thus marked out for them, and to earn for themselves the honor and happiness that spring from conferring benefits on our fellow-men.

Major Forbes moved one of the resolutions, which was seconded by Rustomjee Cowasjee.

Mr. Henry Mercedeth Parker then rose to move another; but on his first rising his feelings so overcame him, that we were inclined to doubt whether he would be able to speak at all, and, indeed, he said much less than he is in the habit of saying, but the little he did say was to the point, and if it was less brilliant than usual for him, or rather if it was not brilliant, it was marked by deep feeling, which on such an occasion could not fail to be appreciated. Mr. Parker had known Dwarkanath for nineteen years, and when he was in the public service, had warned him that that was no service for him, standing forth, as he did, as a reformer in advance of his countrymen, since it would expose him to the shafts of envy and malignity. Mr. Parker's prophecy was verified by the result; but, though Dwarkanath thus shared the fate of all men who have dared to show themselves more enlightened than the community to which they belong, still when an opportunity was afforded him of retiring from the service, he characteristically refused to do so until the charges which iniquity had engendered and preferred against him were refuted. They were all refuted, and then he retired, or rather, as Mr. Parker emphatically remarked, he did not retire, but he nobly advanced to that lofty position as an example of all that is honorable and liberal, as a benefactor of that community, which he has ever since so steadily maintained.

One other remark of Mr. Parker's, which was a severe but rather well-merited rebuke of his brouder civilians, we must not omit. Mr. Parker observed, that he was sorry to say that he had hundreds of times seen assembled round the social board of Dwarkanath, many more of these gentlemen than were assembled on the present occasion to pay him a tribute of respect on the occasion of his quitting India, in pur-

suit of objects so honorable in themselves, and so likely to be productive of benefit to his country. We may add what Mr. Parker did not, that we have reason to believe that many in that service owe their release from the burden of difficulties which would have otherwise overwhelmed them altogether, to the liberality of him whom on this occasion they thus neglected. We must in charity hope that some of them at least who might have been expected to be present were not willingly but unavoidably absent.

After Mr. Parker, Mr. Henry Piddington addressed the meeting in a speech in which he warmly supported the object of the meeting. In the course of his address he quoted from the *Friend of India* the following passage:—

"Taking leave, as we thus do, of one of Rammohun Roy's warmest friends and earliest adherents, when on the eve of following his footsteps to our own beloved country, may we venture to hope that one of Dwarkanath's first efforts in England will be to rescue the grave of that illustrious man from the neglect to which it has been consigned, and to erect over it some memorial which shall at least serve to direct the steps of future pilgrims from India to England to the place where his remains rest. *When one of the conductors of this journal was last at Stapleton, in the vicinity of Bristol, where Rammohun Roy died, he was distressed to find that the Vandals who own the spot where he was buried, considered it as having been so greatly dishonoured by affording a grave to his ashes, that they had endeavoured to efface every memorial of him.* It is not for the credit of India that Rammohun Roy should lie in an unknown grave in England. We could almost wish that at the meeting held this day to do honor to Dwarkanath, some expression of public feeling on this subject should be recorded; and, if possible, a small subscription raised for the purpose of erecting a tomb over the remains of that eminent man; and that the application of the sum be publicly delegated to his friend. We can answer for Dwarkanath's most cordial concurrence in such an appointment."

We have marked in italics the sentences on which Mr. Piddington commented with great severity, certainly not unmerited if the statement be fully warranted. Dr. John Grant rose to call for the authority for a statement which, if true, reflected so much disgrace on the national character, and he appealed to Rammohun Roy's son, who was present, and to some other gentlemen, particularly Mr. Fulton, recently from England, to know, if they could speak to the subject. The last gentleman declared that he had seen in August last, the month in which he left England, the daughter of the gentleman in whose house Rammohun Roy died, and that that lady informed him that a tomb of some kind still existed over his remains, though we infer from the description

given of it, that it is every way unworthy of a man so distinguished. Right sure are we, however, that Dwarkanath, with the zeal and earnestness which are characteristic of him, will set about removing from us this reproach.

We have omitted to state that the address of one of the resolutions proposes that the testimonial to Dwarkanath shall be a picture to be suspended in the Town Hall. A native gentleman, Degumber Mitter, moved as an amendment that there should be a bust, and this was seconded by Bykaunt Rai. Upon this, a discussion arose, in which Mr. Turton, Mr. Longueville Clarke, and others joined.

Mr. Longueville Clarke explained that there should be a statue instead of a picture, and that he had replied to them what he would then repeat, that if the funds were sufficient, there would be no objection to both. Mr. Clarke observed, that there were many individuals among them, who could, out of their own private means, furnish the whole amount required, without feeling such a deduction from their annual income. This is unquestionably true; but we desire to see the subscriptions widely diffused, and if the number that subscribe bears any just proportion to that of those who have been benefited by Dwarkanath's munificence, setting aside his public claims to the gratitude of the whole community, there will be ample funds for both the picture and the statue. If that should be otherwise, however, we are decidedly of Mr. Turton's opinion that a picture is preferable to a mere bust; nay, we are inclined to prefer a good picture even to a statue. To our mind, a statue is better fitted to represent the dead than the living, for, in the statue, the eyes through which the soul speaks are wanting; we trust, however, that we shall have both, for we have no hesitation in saying, that no man who ever left the shores of India had higher claims to such marks of the esteem of the community than Dwarkanath Tagore. We have honored in such a manner men who have been going home to enjoy their fortunes in the country of their birth, by whom the voyage was looked forward to with emotions of pleasure, to whom it presented only pictured scenes of joy in store; but when we consider all that Dwarkanath (he will pardon the familiarity which omits his second name) encounters on quitting his native soil for lands so remote, the high moral courage, the spirit of enterprise, the enlightened desire for knowledge which could alone screw his courage to the sticking place so to exile himself, we must feel that even were the claims of others equal in other respects, he is in this superior to all whom the community has been called on to pay a similar tribute of respect.

We had nearly omitted to state that Mr. Longueville Clarke, though last, certainly not least, independent of the share he took in the discussion about Rammohun Roy's tomb, addressed the meeting in a brief

but feeling and eloquent speech in support of the resolution for the picture.

We must throw ourselves upon the indulgence of our readers to excuse this very hasty and most imperfect outline of the proceedings of the meeting, in which we have, we fear, not even observed the proper order of them; but we write without the aid of any notes, and without having even the resolutions or the address or anything before us by which we could give more regularity and fidelity to this hurried account of what took place on an occasion so deeply interesting to every one who can appreciate sterling worth.

We have only to add that the meeting was crowded, the number of natives especially very considerable; and that the greatest enthusiasm prevailed throughout, the speakers being repeatedly interrupted by loud and unanimous cheers. The address is to be presented to Dwarkanath at the Town Hall, by a deputation chosen at the meeting, to be joined by all who may feel disposed to attend.

APPENDIX C.

MEETING HELD IN COMMEMORATION OF THE MEMORY OF DWARKANATH TAGORE.

(*From the Hurkaru, December 4, 1846*).

THE meeting of the inhabitants convened by the High Sheriff, for the purpose of adopting measures to "commemorate their admiration of the enterprise, the talents, the fine qualities, and charitable acts" of their lamented fellow-citizen, the late Dwarkanath Tagore, came off in the Town Hall, pursuant to advertisement, on Tuesday evening. The requisition to the Sheriff to call this meeting bore no less than about one hundred European and Native names, being headed by that of our excellent Chief Justice, Sir Lawrence Peel. The attendance at the meeting, as might have been expected, was more numerous than there usually is at Calcutta meetings, representatives of all classes of the community being present. Among the rest there were Sir J. P. Grant, D. Elliott, Esq., of the Law Commission, Sir T. E. M. Turton, Dr. Dealtry, the Archdeacon, J. W. Colville, Esq., G. A. Bushby, Esq., A. E. Samuels, Esq., Col. Forbes, F. Halliday, Esq., H. Torrens, Esq., C. Beadon, Esq., B. Walker, Esq., L. Clarke, Esq., J. W. Fulton, Esq., Dr. Monat, W. Wylie, Esq., J. Stern, Esq., &c., &c. Most of the leading members of Hindu society likewise attended to do honour to the worth and virtues of their departed countryman. A little after

4 o'clock the High Sheriff, J. P. McKilligin, Esq., opened the meeting by adverting to the public requisition to him to convene it.

On a motion then of G. A. Bushby, Esq., the Honorable Sir John Peter Grant was voted to take the chair.

Sir John Peter Grant rose and made a few introductory remarks in his usual neat and effective style. He had great pleasure, he said, in taking the chair on the present occasion according to the request of the meeting. He thought it was unnecessary for him to enlarge upon the numerous virtues and merits of his deceased and most valued friend Dwarkanath Tagore. He had known him for a long series of years, and truly might he say he knew no man who possessed in a higher degree the excellencies of a good man. He could speak with feelings of sincere friendship and most sincere regret at Dwarkanath Tagore's having been called away from amongst us in the midst of his honorable career of usefulness, while so actively instrumental in doing good, not only to his countrymen at large, but also to the Government to whom is entrusted the sovereignty of this country. He could confidently say that no man was better qualified than Dwarkanath Tagore to do away with the uneasy discrepancies of feeling existing between Natives and Europeans. Not only was he possessed of virtues peculiar to his own country, but to them he added the excellencies belonging to educated and enlightened Europeans. He was free from the narrow-minded prejudices regarding differences of caste, sect, and religion; he was ever ready to devote his talents and energies for the diffusion of moral and intellectual improvement, which could not be more effectually accomplished than by placing his countrymen under the guidance of mind.

Dr. Thomas Dealtry, the Archdeacon, then came forward to propose the first resolution, in doing which he addressed the meeting to the following effect:—

It may, perhaps, be asked why I am present on this occasion; I, a minister of the Gospel, to do honor to the memory of one who was known only as Hindu. My answer is, because I rejoice to recognize good wherever it is to be found, and I believe there were many good qualities in the character of this distinguished individual that should not be permitted to pass without being held up for imitation, and also because the manner in which it is proposed to do him honor, is in itself calculated to promote the welfare and civilization of the natives of this country. It is, then, to bear testimony to those *benevolent qualities* in the character of the deceased which the resolution embodies, that I now stand before you; and these have been so distinguished and manifest, that they are already known to most of the residents in this great city.

They were manifest in the most distinguished liberality to the poor. You are all aware that in his life-time one lac of rupees was placed by him at the disposal of the District Charitable Society for the benefit of the poor and the destitute. What a noble gift! But this is only a moiety of what he has actually given. He has bequeathed another lac of rupees in his will for the same excellent and praiseworthy cause. These were public acts, but it is well known to many here that the benevolent qualities of our late fellow-citizen were manifested in private charities, which were known only to the Omniscient God, and to those who were the subjects of them. Are not these acts worthy to be had in remembrance? Do they not stand in striking contrast with the conduct of many Christians, who have drawn immense wealth from the resources of this country, either to consume and squander it upon their own lusts and follies, or to retire to live in luxurious ease in their own land, without leaving any such memorials to perpetuate their names as the benefactors of the people from whom they have derived that wealth?

That benevolence has been shown again in *his anxiety to diffuse the blessings of secular knowledge among his fellow-countrymen.* While I cannot but feel and express surprise at the conduct of many of my fellow-Christians and countrymen who are actively engaged in the work of education, to the exclusion of the only remedy which has been given for the restoration of our race, viz., "the doctrines and the morals of the Gospel," I look upon it in a very different light in regard to one who had not received that Gospel. What is blameworthy in them deserves the highest praise in him. He firmly believed that it alone would break the shackles of the galling slavery in which his countrymen are held; he had the impression that it was the chief, if not the only remedy; and his time, his abilities, and his fortune were devoted to the noble object. I honor him in the principle. It only required divine light and right direction to make it all that could be desired. It led him to send the native students to England. I honor also his countrymen who are treading in his steps. It is in them as honourable—believing, as they do, that it will be the principal means of good to their country—as it is in zealous Christians to desire that the whole world should obtain the knowledge and share in the happiness which they possess. It is, in fact, the purest philanthropy of which they are capable.

But I should be much wanting to his memory if I did not mark particularly how these qualities were enhanced in him *by the difficulties he had to encounter in their exercise.* With us it is only acting consistently with our principles when we seek to do good to the poor, and to diffuse the blessings of knowledge and truth among those around us—

may, we betray our principles, if we are not actively employed in these objects. But it was far otherwise with our late fellow-citizen. He had to encounter prejudice at every step. Bigotry and superstition scowled upon every effort that he made to enlighten his countrymen. It was breaking in upon the system of the faith. It was against the way and manners of their fathers. How were superstitious fears appealed to with reference to his visit to England. It was said that he would never live to return. But his safe return on a former occasion has left no room for that absurd notion to rest upon. I think nothing can be more appropriate than the tribute which it is proposed to pay to his memory. It is one which he himself would have desired, as it is one which will be most likely to be useful to his countrymen. I believe that nothing is better calculated to promote this object than sending young men to England, and bringing them in contact with our habits, our religion, our literature.

All these things have induced me to stand forward on this occasion, and, my friends, they show that you have good ground to go upon in expressing your high sense of the estimable qualities, and your regret at the untimely death of this lamented individual. I therefore doubt not the favorable reception of the resolution which I now beg to propose:

"That this meeting publicly record the high estimation which they entertain of the benevolent qualities of their lamented fellow-citizen Dwarkanath Tagore, and their deep regret at his untimely death. Accumulating vast wealth by talent and assiduity, he liberally employed it in charitable and national objects, whilst in private life his advice and aid was at every applicant's command, and his house was a home not only to his own countrymen but to Europeans of every nation."

The resolution was seconded by Baboo Russomoy Dutt, and being put from the chair, was carried unanimously.

J. W. Colville, Esq. the Advocate-General, got up to move the second resolution, which he introduced with a very excellent speech:

Sir John Grant and Gentlemen,—I take it for granted that all present have come here with the common purpose of doing honor to the memory of Dwarkanath Tagore, and of showing their sense of the services which he has rendered to this country. It is my task to propose to you the mode in which, as it has appeared to some of us, this may be best and most appropriately done. The resolution which I have the honor to propose is this:

[The Advocate-General here read the resolution.]

Gentlemen,—it would have been more satisfactory to me had the duty of proposing this resolution devolved, as at one time I hoped it would have devolved, upon one not only of higher station, but of far greater ability—upon one whose larger and far more effectual services in the

cause of education in this country would have given weight to his words, and enabled him to urge the arguments which recommend this proposal to your adoption, with a force to which I cannot pretend. I may, however, confidently state that although this gentleman, the Hon'ble the President of the Council of Education, is unavoidably absent, this proposition is made with his full concurrence, and I believe I may also state that it is approved of not only by the learned Judge in the chair, but also by his learned colleagues, who, though unable to take part in this public meeting, are ready to give to this, as to every other good work, the influence of their names and their substantial and liberal support.

I do not know whether I ought to regret that the task of recommending a proper testimonial to the memory of Dwarkanath Tagore, has been intrusted to one who has not had the advantage of knowing him here in his own country, or intimately anywhere. If, on the one hand, I may seem to lack the warmth—on the other, I cannot be suspected of the partiality which a long and intimate friendship might beget. And it is not necessary for me to speak of what he has done in this country; it is known to you all. The records of almost every institution in this city, whether for educational or other charitable purposes, attest his active bounty and his working benevolence, and having known him in England, I can, if need was, freely speak of the effect which he produced there, by the union which he exhibited in a remarkable degree of an acute intellect, the nicest tact, and unaffected good sense, with the most active benevolence and unceasing zeal for the improvement of his fellow-countrymen—not only upon that refined society in which good taste is pushed to the verge of fastidiousness, but upon men of the highest order of mind.

To come then to the immediate object of this resolution. That we mean to do something in honor of this remarkable man; that we come hither with some further purpose than that of uttering empty words in his praise, I must assume. The question is—what that thing shall be? We might no doubt do, what has so often been done here, subscribe our money to buy a picture or a statue. But to say nothing of the fact that such public testimonials in honor of Dwarkanath Tagore already exist—I believe, in this very building—that which I propose is, in my humble judgment, to be preferred to any work of art, however elaborate; choose for your memorial the most enduring material in which plastic art can work—this foundation, we vain would hope, will last as long. But grant that your portrait or your statue could be eternal, what can either do but preserve the bodily proportions and the outward lineaments of the man: that which I propose will perpetuate his better part, will keep alive his action and character.

amongst us, and will continue, far beyond the limits of the life of man, to do what he did whilst he could, and would have desired ever to do. Look, too, at the nature of the reputation which we thus hope to secure for him. Suppose some student of limited means who in one of our colleges shall have imbibed the thirst of knowledge, the desire to measure his mind with those of other men, and that love of foreign travel which, if well directed, is a characteristic of an active and inquiring mind—such an one, if these exhibitions be founded, may say, and say with gratitude—there was a man—one Dwarkanath Tagore—a man of large and generous spirit, who had the improvement of his race at heart, and did much to effect it. Above all, he showed that prejudice had no bonds for him; he crossed the dark water; he was admitted to the society of princes and men of letters; he shared in the most distinguished society of Europe of what cultivation a Hindu is capable. In his honor his fellow-citizens established that which will give me the means, otherwise denied me, of visiting Europe, of continuing with ampler opportunities the pursuit of science, and of returning thence with improved abilities and enlarged understanding, to tread, it may be, at however humble a distance, in his footsteps, and to benefit, like him, my kind. That this should be said will be surely more for the honor of Dwarkanath's memory, than that years hence some stranger should be told that some mildewed picture or mouldering bust against these walls is a monument of the gratitude of Calcutta towards a distinguished fellow-citizen.

So much for the proposal as it affects him in whose honor it is designed. Let us consider what objection can be made to it. I can well conceive that a year or two ago some practical man might have said—why send Hindu boys to London? when exposed to the temptations of a foreign capital they can do no good. Such an objection is now too late. The experiment has been tried, and never was experiment more completely successful. Nothing can be more satisfactory than the accounts received of the progress and conduct of the four youths sent to London from the Medical College—sent, two of them, as my venerable friend the Archdeacon brought to your attention, by the bounty of Dwarkanath himself. They have carried away prizes from European competitors, they have received the highest praise from Sir Benjamin Brodie, the first surgeon of London (praise which reflects great credit upon those who have the conduct of the Medical College here); and at the same time they have shown that the temptations of the place, and the attentions of which they have been the object, had no power to coerce them from their studies. It would be needless to anticipate other objections. The advantages of a scheme which will afford to young men from this country the means of completing a scientific education

in Europe are too obvious to require to be mentioned. I confidently then recommend the adoption of this resolution to you, as being not only in accordance with what we may suppose would be agreeable to him whom we wish to honor, but as being no barren testimonial, but a source of permanent benefit to the community.

Before, however, I put the resolution into the hands of the Chairman, let me say one word as to the next which will be proposed to you. [The Advocate-General then explained that the only reason why it was proposed that the fund should be vested in official trustees and persons connected with the Government, was the necessity of providing something like a perpetual succession of persons responsible for the due administration of the funds of what it was hoped would prove a permanent institution.]

"That a subscription be entered into for the purpose of raising funds, to be vested in the names of Trustees of the Dwarkanath Tagore Endowment, to procure for the Native youths of India, at the University College of London, the benefit of European education either general or professional."

Rajah Suttochurn Ghosal seconded this resolution, which likewise was put, and carried unanimously.

It was then proposed by *Rustomjee Cowasjee, Esq.* and seconded by *J. P. McKilligin, Esq.*, and carried unanimously also :

"That the President of the Council of Education for the time being, the Advocate-General for the time being, the Government Agent for the time being, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal for the time being constitute the Trustees of the Dwarkanath Tagore Endowment."

G. A. Bushby, Esq., next rose to move the fourth resolution, and observed that the next step in the proceedings was to suggest names of those gentlemen who were likely best to represent the feelings of the meeting, in giving effect to the wish of the subscribers with reference to the last resolution. Without entering into a detail of the virtues of his lamented friend Dwarkanath Tagore, which, without flattery or exaggeration, would occupy a considerable length of time, he felt himself bound to say that a long acquaintance with Dwarkanath Tagore attached him to everything connected with his memory. Independently of the private feeling by which he might seem to be actuated now, he felt it due to native worth to assist in paying the compliment to the memory of his deceased friend. The resolution brought forward by *M^r. Bushby* was as follows :

"That the following gentlemen be appointed members of the Committee :—

The Official Trustees, *Rustomjee Cowasjee, Ramswamy Datta, Raghopal Ghose, Dr. John Grant, Major Henderson, Ramchander Misra, Dr. W. B. O'Shaughnessy.*

"Any five to form a quorum. The Committee to appoint their Secretary, and to have power to frame a scheme to carry the above resolutions into effect, subject to the approbation of the Council of Education."

Baboo Kasiapersad Ghose seconded this resolution, and being put to the votes of the meeting, was, like all the others, carried unanimously.

The Rev Dr. Nash then addressed the meeting in a long and animated speech which called forth much applause. We regret that we are unable to give more than an imperfect outline of it. He rose by request to apologize for the absence of the Lord Bishop, whose duties forbade his appearing at that meeting to do honor to the memory of Dwarkanath Tagore. It was a source of great satisfaction to him (*Dr. Nash*) to hear the sentiments which fell from the archdeacon. And here he would observe, that, of all the virtues possessed by the lamented deceased, there was one pre-eminently possessed by him,—that he harboured no sectarian feelings, his humanity extended beyond a class, it was shared alike by all. His benevolence was pure as it was bountiful. His munificence was known far and wide; how many a poor widow and orphan had been relieved from distress by his bounty. It was well known the respectable position he occupied as a merchant in the mercantile world. His dealings had ever been creditable and honorable in the highest degree. Dwarkanath was the first who possessed the moral courage to break through the prejudices which environed the minds of his countrymen, and to sweep away the barrier which prevented their crossing the seas to visit the Western world, to open and establish there his commercial connections. He proved by this boldness that a native leaving this country to journey to England would not find his grave there. His moral courage had put to flight these fears which were so readily entertained by his countrymen. He did return to his native land after his first visit there, and made the voyage again. On this last occasion he had been received frequently at her palace by the Queen, with at least as much cordiality as was the Emperor of all the Russias. He went on the Continent and visited France. He was received into the domestic circle and enjoyed the friendship of the Queen and family of a sovereign, whom, without derogating from the honor due to gratitude, he might call "the Prince of Peace"—he meant Louis Philippe. Native friends, said the speaker, Dwarkanath Tagore has elevated your character in the eyes of Europe, he taught them that you possess education and enjoy a high degree of civilization. He showed that you are good and loyal subjects and worthy of the confidence of the Government. He begged to introduce to the notice of the Chairman one subject which the deceased felt could not be too early introduced into his country. It was female education. He had a strong

desire that the female members of his family should be educated. He, Dr. Nash, had spoken with many native gentlemen on this point, and they were without exception extremely anxious to carry out their wishes in this respect. The exclusion of females commenced with Tamerlane, who, when he unfurled his standard, shut out from society the mothers and daughters of the natives (cheers); there is nothing in the *Shasters* and other sacred books which command the withholding from woman the means of intellectual improvement. He spoke his mind freely on this subject, knowing well the deep consideration it ought to receive from them. The poet had told them that the touch of the chisel makes the rough marble start into life. Education would regenerate the females of India. In not educating their wives, the natives had not adopted the civilization of their conquerors, but he hoped the day was not distant when it should become general, and the natives feel how much the child depends on its mother for its education. The rev. speaker concluded by expressing his deep regret for the loss of Dwarkanath Tagore, whose moral courage would have revolutionized the manners of his countrymen and advanced them in all the blessings and sweets of life. Long might his memory be cherished and afford a bright example to his countrymen. The rev. gentleman thanked the Chairman for the opportunity which had been granted to him to bear his testimony to the worth of the departed.

Baboo Issur Chunder Chunder, an assistant in the Revenue Department, here read a written speech to the meeting, embodying a panegyric on the character and worth of Dwarkanath Tagore; having been supplied by him. The address is here subjoined:—

It is our painful, though at the same time our satisfactory duty, to meet in this hall for the purpose of commemorating the disinterestedness and philanthropy of our departed friend and benefactor Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore;—painful, when we recollect the man, and call to our mind the inestimable benefits which he rendered to his country, and satisfactory, when we look around, and see this assembly composed of his best friends, both European and Native, who had been privileged to enjoy intimate intercourse with him, now met to express their admiration of the enterprising spirit and charitable acts of our noble countryman. It may be asserted without exaggeration, that few men in the course of a lengthened existence have rendered such essential and undoubted service to the Indian community; fewer still, perhaps, have left behind them a memory thus consecrated by general esteem, affection, and respect. A faithful friend, a good husband, an indulgent master almost to weakness, a right economist in regard to himself, and liberal to others,—Dwarkanath Tagore, besides his public qualities, is deservedly respected and remembered for the virtues of the private and inward

man. When we seriously reflect on the common destinies of man, how the exalted and virtuous are snatched from the scene of life in the plenitude of mental and bodily power, without a warning,—and as on this deplorable occasion far from their kindred and their native soil—may we not be permitted to say,—ruthless Death, which has drank the blood of thousands, and swept away our noble generations into oblivion, is still more ruthless in hurrying away the soul of one who lacked neither the character of the politician, the sage, or the legislator.

He was not, I admit, endowed with splendid talents, nor blessed with extraordinary parts like that illustrious countryman of ours—that distinguished pattern of excellence in learning, the late Rajah Rammo-hun Roy. He was not possessed of that superior genius which exalted the other to pre-eminence. But Dwarkanath Tagore was not inferior to him in all the other endowments of the mind—was not less informed, than he, of man as man. Possessed of a mind which procured him the respect and admiration of the world, he cultivated it to better purposes. Benevolent and urbane in his manners towards all with whom he had intercourse, he uniformly condescended to men of low estate. He was held in veneration and respect both by the orthodox and unorthodox Hindus. The youthful student always found in him a friend from whom he received every mark of encouragement. The man of business looked upon him as an untiring friend and adviser, whose kindness and benevolence he ever experienced; the houseless found in him a home; the naked was supplied by him with clothing; the hungry with food. Whenever I was favored with an interview with him, I invariably found him encircled with men of every class and denomination, to whom he afforded every relief which their circumstances required, mediating with impartial judgment to restore peace among the rich; and I was wonderfully gratified in observing that none—none departed with a heavy heart or a dissatisfied countenance.

The public acts of benevolence of Dwarkanath Tagore need no recapitulation here. They were varied. His liberal donation of a lac of rupees to the District Charitable Society—a donation from which thousands of the sick and weak find adequate relief; his prominent exertions for the abolition of the horrible rite of the suttee, so great a disgrace to the code of Indian morality—exertions for which the enlightened natives of this country feel a deep and permanent gratitude—are only a few of the benefits which our lamented Dwarkanath conferred on the inhabitants of his fatherland.

That man, ordained by Providence to shine among his species—setting at defiance the horrors of superstition and priestcraft which still hold an ascendant sway over the benighted land, heeding not the cries of envy and malice, rending all family considerations—braved the

waters of the Atlantic for the Western hemisphere; not for self-aggrandizement, as has been wrongfully imputed to him by bigotry and short-sightedness, but with the laudable motive of ennobling his country, *by bringing two hemispheres to a sisterly attachment and dependence.* With this view, he had the magnanimity of spirit to take along with him four medical students, and to place them in a celebrated university at his own expense. Thus it was left for Dwarkanath in England to display his zeal for the good of this country; there he devoted best of his time to that noble object, and as a mark of approbation of her loyal subject's conduct, our beloved and gracious Queen presented him with her own and her Royal Consort's portraits, which now grace the centre of our metropolis,—the place of our present meeting. Well might that truly good and beneficent individual, whose life and energies were mainly devoted for the well-being of this community, exult in his splendid and honorable achievements. Well might he whose liberal hand was ever open for the relief of poverty, whose name glows with unsullied lustre in our remembrance, and whose words of encouragement were so creative of noble emulation in the youthful mind, rejoice at his latest hour in the retrospect of his brilliant career. Whatever were his frailties and defects (and who was ever free from them), praise, undying and just praise, will ever attend among the people of India the honored name of Dwarkanath Tagore!

Gentlemen, we have lost a dear friend and a jewel of our country. Every feeling of gratitude recommends the adoption of some measures to perpetuate his memory. India has now no friend to plead for her rights and privileges, no advocate to espouse her cause—she has but a foreign friend and a foreign advocate. The Government of India has showered multifarious advantages on its conquered subjects, and, like a paternal Government, has studied their moral as well as physical necessities. Its moderation, justice, and liberality have been wonderfully displayed. But all its efforts for the moral regeneration of this priest-ridden land will not be effectual, unless, like the excellent individual on whose account we have now assembled, the natives of the soil put their shoulders to the wheel, identify their interest with the interest of Government, come forward and support undertakings which are for the general welfare of the community. Alas! the thought immediately forces itself upon my mind, that the wealthiest portion of this land are stumbling in the darkness of ages—men, who have the same means and advantages as our lamented friend had, lack the will in executing undertakings which tend to the amelioration of their country. They are wholly bent upon the encouragement of superstition, and of deeds which call forth commiseration and pity from the heart of a true lover of India. While in regard to the noble exertions to improve and

vate their country, to establish societies for ameliorating her moral and political conditions, and for disseminating the mind—opening blessings of education, so absolutely necessary to rise a degraded nation to the pitch of civilisation. Oh! how I long for the time, that blessed time, when, plenty, casting away from her heart every sordid feeling of cupidity, effacing from it the deformed image of mammon, and substituting in its place the breastplate of philanthropy, shall co-operate with our benign Government in arts of enlightenment;—and, roused by the stirring example of a Rammohun Roy and a Dwarkanath Tagore, the twin stars of our Indian galaxy, shall ever set before her eyes those distinguished patterns of rare excellence, and imitate their virtues and their actions. Then, and not till then, India shall add an imperishable lustre to the British Crown. Such was the character and such were the benevolent acts of the mournful subject of this meeting. Our limited time does not allow us to dwell at length on the merits of this distinguished individual, but should there appear any regular sketch of him, there is an ample field open to the writer for doing adequate justice.

Dwarkanath is no more! let us shed no unworthy tear over his memory. His fame has extended wherever the beneficial results of his exertions have been felt and appreciated by the public. He has left to his country and family the remembrance of his talents as a fit subject for pious gratitude, and his character as a noble example for imitation. Peace be to his ashes! He now sleeps the sleep that knows no waking in some solitary spot of England. But even though no colossal bust, no monument raised by the hand of mortal and fleeting man remind the traveller of the hallowed earth wherewith his own bones shall mingle for eternity.—there is a nobler, a more lasting monument than the pyramids themselves, which shall enshrine his name and virtues—the heart of ever grateful India!!!

The last resolution passed by the meeting was a vote of thanks to the Chair, which was accorded on a motion of D. Elliott, Esq.

The Hon'ble Chairman then, in returning thanks for the motion just passed, remarked that he had never presided at a meeting with greater pleasure. He experienced also singular satisfaction from the circumstances that the meeting had been addressed by a distinguished Secretary of the Church of England, and an eminent divine of the Church of Rome, who had united in acknowledging the merits of Dwarkanath Tagore in such high yet deserved terms. In conclusion, he hoped that when the papers were sent round for subscriptions, the call would liberally and promptly be responded to.

The meeting separated a little before dusk.

DWARKANATH TAGORE.

"I ADMIRE," says Emerson, "great men of all classes, those who stand for facts and for thoughts; I like rough and smooth, 'scourges of God' and 'darlings of the human race.' I like the first Cæsar and Charles V of Spain, and Charles XII of Sweden, Richard Plantagenet, and Bonaparte of France. I applaud a sufficient man, an officer equal to his office, captains, ministers, and senators. I like a master standing firm on legs of iron, well-formed, rich, handsome, eloquent, loaded with advantages, drawing all men by fascination into tributaries and supporters of his favorite sword or staff, or talents sword-like or staff-like, carry on the work of the world." The true secret of this admiration, as well as the true moral of biography, is our intense desire to associate with superior and uncommon men, and our unlimited capacity to emulate their merits. They are helpful through their moral and mental and emotional powers, and they speak to our wants, answer our questions, and solve important problems in life.

Bengal has, of late, not been sterile of enlightened and conspicuous men. But of individuals, such as sway society and influence the action of Govern-

ment, no one has attained such position since Dwarkanath Tagore passed away from among us. He reached a height of popular favor and political power beyond which no advance of a Hindu was, in his time at least, possible. The career of such a man, however briefly or imperfectly told, must be instructive.

Dwarkanath was born in the year 1794. He was the adopted son of his paternal uncle, Babu Ram Lochun Tagore.

The pedigree of the Tagores deserves some mention. A pamphlet was recently put forth by, or under the auspices of, a late member of the Tagore family, tracing it to Bhatta Narayan, and describing himself as the thirtieth in descent.

In the Introduction to the *Venisanhara*, published under the same auspices, he is, however, made to be the thirty-second from the five Brahmins who came to Bengal during the reign of Adisura. The Tagores, belonging as they do to the *Sandillo Gotra*, have, no doubt, as much right to call Bhatta Naryan their ancestor, as the Mookerjees to call Sri Harsha as theirs.

But I have grave doubts of the present race of Tagores being the thirty-third or thirty-fourth in descent from Bhatta Narayan, who migrated only about 870 years ago, from Kanouj to Bengal, at the instance of Adisura.

The analogy of the Koolin Kaists does not support the theory of the pamphleteer.

At the last *Akjee* held by the late Sir Rajah Radhakant Deb Bahadoor, the muster roll showed

twenty-eight generations of Mitters, Boses and Ghoses. How, during the same period, the Tagores should have multiplied to so many more generations seems unaccountable.

In the misty land of pedigree-manufacturers, we find Halodhur, the sixteenth in descent from Bhatta Narayan, described as an accomplished lawyer and the Prime-Minister of the Court of Bengal, as the architect of the city of Gour, and the founder of Koolinism, but the statements are not supported by well-ascertained facts. We next hear of Jaggarnath, said to be twenty-fourth in descent from Bhatta Narayan. Following the example of his ancestor, he emigrated from Kanouj to Jessore, where he settled and married the beautiful and accomplished daughter of Sudha Ram, the Sudra Raja of Esobpore. This intermarriage is supposed to have cast the Tagores out of the pale of caste and converted them to *Peeralies*. But descending from the conjectural to the historical domain, we find Jayram, son of Pancha Ram, as the first distinct figure who steps out of cloud land. He may be said to be the true founder of the Tagore family—the strong man who built himself a house and stamped his name on the soil of Sutanatee.

Jayram held the situation of Ameen of the 24-Pergunnahs. It was his business to collect the revenues of that metropolitan district. During his time the building of "Fort William" was undertaken by Government. Jayram somehow or other became connected with the department to which the building was entrusted, and which corresponded to the

Public Works Department of the present day. The building cost a mint of money, and its completion was indefinitely delayed. Every one, from the Chief Engineer to the *Sirdar Mistree*, reaped a rich harvest of rupees. Whether Jayram was or was not behind-hand his European superiors in the process of harvesting, we have no means of determining. But we should not be surprised if, in those days, when official supervision was not only lax but nil, and official honesty was the exception and not the rule, Jayram was unable to withstand the temptation with which he was surrounded. Anyhow he died a well-to-do if not a rich man, leaving five sons ; two of whom, Darpa Narayan and Nil Money, were the founders of two houses.

Darpa Narayan, the elder brother, remained at home to manage the ancestral estate, which he considerably improved and enlarged.

Nil Money, the younger, went out to the mofussil to seek his fortunes. He first served as a subordinate Amla in a Zillah Court, and gradually and steadily rose to the post of a Sheristadar—the highest post to which a native could then aspire. He used to remit to his brother, in Calcutta, his savings. Subsequently, when he retired from official life, he had a dispute with his brother about the aggregate sums remitted by him from time to time. An amicable settlement was at last effected, under which he received from his brother one lac of rupees as an equivalent for his share of his ancestral and self-acquired property.

With this sum he quitted his ancestral dwelling-house, and built one at Jorasanko. The site on which it stands is said to have been granted by the late Baistam Dass Sett, himself a rigid Hindu, as a testimony to the piety of Nil Money as an uncompromising Brahmin. As an illustration of his adherence to orthodox Hinduism, it may be mentioned that Baistam Dass Sett was considered as the custodian and chief exporter of the sacred water of the Ganges. Gburahs filled with this water and signed and sealed by him were despatched to different districts where the Ganges does not pass, and were received as the genuine article. Nil Money left three sons, Ram Lochun, Ram Money, and Ram Ballab. Ram Money had two wives. He had three sons, *viz.*, Dwarkanath and Radhanath by his first wife, and Ramanath by his second. As Ram Lochun, the eldest brother, had no issue, he adopted as his son and heir, Dwarkanath, in accordance with the rites enjoined in the shasters.

Dwarkanath learned his vernacular in a Patshalla, and acquired the elements of his English education in Mr. Sherbourne's school situated on the Chitpore Road. The books Dwarkanath was taught in this school were "Enfield's Spelling," "Reading Book," "Tooteenamah, or Tales of the Parrot," "Universal Letter Writer," "Complete Letter Book," and "Royal English Grammar."

What he picked up at school was but little, but he was one of those who thought out his own conclusions and who could read men and decipher the book of nature.

Besides, he made up for his deficiency of school instruction by an after-course of education which he pursued under the pilotage of the Reverend William Adams, Mr. J. G. Gordon, and James Calder, the two last gentlemen, partners of Mackintosh and Co., which was a leading firm in those days.

His intimate association with these men served in no inconsiderable degree to expand his ideas and enlarge his mind. He also made the acquaintance, while young, of Ram Mohun Roy, under whose inspiration he imbibed liberal sentiments and elevated views on religion.

He had been a staunch Hindu, like his grandfather, fond of celebrating the *Homa* and performing Poojahs. But at the school of Ram Mohun Roy, he was convinced of the folly of idolatry and the absurdity of the ceremonial part of Hinduism, and he learnt at last to worship God in spirit and in truth.

To have been in the close presence of the Hindu philosopher—to have read with him, argued with him and thought with him—to have co-operated with him in the establishment of the Brahma Somaj and other religious works,—all this enabled him to emancipate his mind from the fetters of an antiquated bigotry and superstition. Thus disciplined and liberalized, he gave practical proof in his subsequent career that caste should not stand in the way of moral or social reform.

In connection with this part of the subject it may be mentioned that he never forgot his old and humble tutor Mr. Sherbourne, but awarded him pen-

sionary support during the life-time of the latter. Dwarkanath applied himself to the study of the Persian language, and acquired a very respectable knowledge. Without being a scholar either in Persian or Arabic, he was a fluent speaker and a ready writer.

His adoptive father was a zemindar, albeit not a large one, and he lived after the manner of zemindars. But it was of no slight importance that the estate inherited by Dwarkanath was not extensive, nor enough to make him independent of official or professional income. He was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Although his means were ample and sufficed for the wants of a Hindu gentleman of the past generation, yet he was not above that necessity which is the stimulus to exertion. A writer has remarked that a state equally removed from poverty and luxury is the temperate zone in which mental development appears most to flourish. Of the truth of this remark, Dwarkanath was a signal illustration.

Dwarkanath lost his father at an early age. Among the properties inherited by him was a zemindary called Berampore, situated in Zillah Pubna. He took up the management of this and other estates a few years after the death of his father. This event necessitated his application to zemindaree business. It familiarized him with Jumma and Jumma Wassilbaki, Jureep and Jumma Nesheest, Pykast and Khod Kast tenures.

The knowledge thus acquired proved of great service to him in after-life. Such knowledge lies at

the foundation of the judicial and fiscal systems of the country. More than two-thirds of the cases which are adjudicated by the civil and fiscal courts arise from rival claims and disputes about land.

From the study of zemindaree accounts and tenures, he turned his attention by a natural process to the study of law. In the acquisition of this branch of knowledge he received valuable assistance from Mr. Cutler Fergusson, a leading barrister of his time. Indeed the two chief influences in his early life were, intellectually, Rammohun Roy, and legally, Mr. Cutler Fergusson. He had a portrait of the latter taken by a very able artist, and it may now be seen in the gallery of his town house. Guided and aided by Mr. Fergusson, Dwarkanath was able to grapple with, and master, the leading principles of jurisprudence. He was not only well versed in Regulation Law, but was thoroughly acquainted with the procedure of the late Supreme as well as the Sudder and the Zillah Courts. Fortified with this knowledge, he set himself up as a law agent, and ably and successfully conducted several cases. Among them may be mentioned the cases of Doorga Churn Mookerjee of Bagbazar, the proprietor of Pergunnah Bogree; of Rajah Borrodakant Roy of Jessore; and of Kumar Harinath Roy of Cossimbazar, whose claims to an immense estate were contested by his kinsmen.

As a law agent, he won the confidence of several Rajahs and large zemindars. The success which crowned his exertions to save several other estates from hostile proceedings which had threatened their integrity, established his reputation as a sound and a

practical lawyer. He became the trusted adviser and law agent of Ranee Kateyanee, Rajah Borrodakant Roy, and several other principal landed proprietors, both of Bengal and the North-West Provinces. It is an office requiring a rare combination of talents in a country where one class is estranged from another, and where justice was till lately a lottery, and where legislation is still greatly in advance of the wants and wishes of the people.

To the office of law agent he added that of commercial agent, purchasing indigo and silk, and shipping the same to Europe in execution of orders.

The career of Dwarkanath, at this early stage, showed to his countrymen, that it was possible for a young zemindar to lead a useful and many-coloured life, instead of collecting and counting rents and sinking into a useless and purposeless existence. Endowed with consummate ability and rare tact, and capable of sustained exertion, he very soon created for himself a position and influence among his countrymen as well as among official and non-official Europeans.

To the officials, he was known as an able man of business. The post of Sheristadar or Dewan to Mr. Plowden, the Salt Agent and Collector of the 24-Pergunnahs, being at this time vacant, Dwarkanath was appointed to it. He served in this capacity for about six years, and gave Mr. Plowden entire satisfaction. Indeed, his official connection and intercourse with Mr. Plowden ripened into a lasting friendship.

The Board of Customs, Salt and Opium having been defrauded of a large amount of public money

by the Dewan and a writer, Dwarkanath was promoted to the Dewanship, and called upon to re-organize the system of issuing Rowanahs, and generally the financial branch. The success with which he performed this task evinced his faculty of organization and won the admiration, and afterwards the friendship, of Mr. Henry Meredith Parker, the Secretary to the Sudder Board. He served for several years as Dewan of the Board, and rendered valuable services in that capacity. The judgment and ability with which he discharged his duties showed a thorough knowledge of all branches of the revenue.

At last, being pressed by private business, and desirous to chalk out an independent line for himself, he made up his mind to resign his office. In accepting his resignation, the Board addressed to him a letter, dated the 7th August 1834, from which I extract the following:—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 1st instant, in which you express a wish to be relieved from the official duties now discharged by you, as Dewan to the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, the pressure of your private business rendering it impracticable for you to devote so much of your attention to the affairs of the Office, as to enable you to perform the duties attached to your appointment with satisfaction to yourself. I have laid your letter before the Board, and am directed by them to communicate to you their acceptance of your resignation. At the same time I am desired to convey the expression of the regret they feel in losing the services of an officer whose talents, zeal and experience have been so long and diligently exerted in advancing the interests of the important branches of the Revenue over which the Board preside. As the high sense which the Board entertain of your qualifications and integrity, and their appreciation of the advantage which the public interests have derived from your connection with this office are recorded in the

proceedings of the Board, it would be superfluous to say more at present than that your past services have met with the cordial approbation of the Board.

In addition to the above, Mr. Parker bore the following weighty testimony to his merits as a public officer :

“ MY DEAR DWARKANATH,—I received your note sent by Carr, and I need hardly assure you that it afforded me the highest gratification. To be assured of the good opinion of those whom we esteem is a great pleasure, and mine was *very* great, because there is no one whom I esteem more than I do yourself. I am only ashamed that you should so greatly over-estimate those trifling services which, if my friendship for you had not demanded them, must have been given in honor and conscience as due to your integrity and high character. Indeed, I can conscientiously declare, that, if at any time I have been instrumental in saving you, as far as my position enabled me to do so, from the annoyance of those cowardly and vindictive attacks, to which your peculiar situation exposed you, I have been actuated solely by what I thought due to justice and to the public service in which your assistance was so valuable, and your integrity, to any unprejudiced human being, beyond the shadow of a doubt. To say that I regret your loss in an office where your aid has been at once so valuable in itself, and so cheerfully given, will but poorly express what I feel in losing your services. I hope that I only do so however, to see you placed in some employment by Government, more worthy of the estimation in which they ought to hold your talents, and more worthy of your acceptance than that you have left. There may be many an appointment which it may be in your power to fill without detriment to the honourable career on which you have entered, and if any such should offer I trust you will accept it, because I feel assured, it could be held by no one with more advantage to the country or more honor to himself. You tell me, which I cannot admit, that you are indebted to me for favors. I cannot admit it because there can be no favors between friends—but you profess your desire to shew your estimation of what you are pleased to denominate acts of kindness while I call them acts of justice. I will tell you how you may do so, my dear Dwarkanath,—continue to set

an example to your countrymen of honor and integrity,—continue through good report and ill report to hold fast by truth and cultivate the approbation of your own conscience,—continue to lead in the path of true knowledge and intellectual civilization, and I shall be repaid a thousand and thousand times over, not for what I have done, for that has been nothing, but for what I would willingly do to shew my friendship and regard for you. With every good and kind wish for your increasing prosperity, and that you may be surrounded with that happiness which your own kind disposition and the goodness of your own heart lead you to promote in others ; believe me, my dear Dwarkanath,

Your sincerely attached friend,

SOOK SAUGOR, }
14th October 1834. }

H. M. PARKER.

Soon after his retirement from official life, Dwarkanath established the firm of Messrs. Carr, Tagore, and Co. On hearing of this enterprise, Lord William Bentinck addressed a very kind and flattering letter to Dwarkanath congratulating him on being the first native gentleman who had set up a house of business in Calcutta on the European model. The congratulation was not unmerited. Before his time the *ne-plus ultra* of opulent natives in the mercantile line was to serve as Banians to European firms. Their commercial aspiration went no further than to supply funds to *Belâti knotees*, obey their behests as *moochhuddes*, and pocket the *dustooree*. It never entered into their heads to launch into speculation or make shipments on their own account. The idea of “no venture, no gain” was considered by them as fraught with imminent danger: safety and slavery were their motto. Hence no small credit was due to Dwarkanath for thus setting up as an independent merchant.

The original partners of the firm were, besides its founder, Mr. William Carr and Mr. William Prinsep. With them Major H. B. Henderson and Mr. W. C. M. Plowden, Dr. Macpherson, Civil Assistant Surgeon of Rampore Beaulah, and Captain Taylor of the Madras Military Service, Babus Debendranath Tagore and Grindranath Tagore, were subsequently and at different times associated as partners. Mr. D. M. Gordon and Babu Prosonno Coomiar Tagore were employed as assistants in the firm. The former stuck to it, and rose to be a partner. The latter left commerce for law, entering the bar of the late Sudder Dewany Adawlut, and realizing by practice a large fortune which he has left tied up in trust, but not so tightly but that the gentlemen of the long robe have been able to pick holes in it. Dwarkanath was, however, the animating spirit of the house. He directed its operations and supplied the sinews of war. In truth, he took up the entire management of the financial department, and allowed no other partner to interfere with it. The large resources at his command, his connection with the Union Bank, and his unlimited credit with other Banks and Kootees enabled him to meet demands, however heavy, on all occasions, and on the shortest notice.

The history of the Union Bank, with which Dwarkanath was connected, may be here briefly told. The projectors of the Bank were Messrs. J. G. Gordon, J. Calder, and John Palmer, Colonel James Young and Dwarkanath. These gentlemen constituted the first Board of Direction, and at their first meeting held at the Exchange Hall, they elected Mr. William

Carr, as the Secretary, and Babu Ramanath Tagore as the Treasurer. The Bank commenced its operations on the 17th August 1829, with a capital of Sicca Rupees 15,00,000 (equal to Company's Rupees 16,00,000), consisting of 609 shares, of Sicca Rupees 2,500 each, which were held by all classes of the community. This capital was wholly furnished by individuals on the principle of a joint-stock Bank. It was formed avowedly as a commercial Bank, and for the purpose of affording pecuniary facilities to commerce and agriculture,—facilities which were denied by the restrictions imposed on the then semi-Government Bank of Bengal by its charter. There were at the time two Banks besides the Bank of Bengal, namely, the Commercial and the Calcutta; but the proprietors of those establishments agreed, by mutual consent, to contract their circulation in order to make room for the Union Bank. The operations of the Calcutta Bank ceased in 1829, in consequence of the arrangements for establishing the Union Bank. Mackintosh and Co. failing in 1833, the settlement of the affairs of the Commercial Bank devolved on Dwarkanath Tagore, the only solvent partner. He adjusted all claims. The new Bank proved a great help to the mercantile interest, and Dwarkanath proved a great help to the Bank, nursing it, as a mother nurses her child, saving it from an untimely death on more than one occasion. One of these occasions was when one of the officers of the Bank embezzled a considerable sum, Dwarkanath made good the loss, and hushed the scandal. The other was a large exchange transaction on

Coutts and Co. and Glyn, Halifax and Co. The latter accepted the bills, but Coutts and Co. at first declined, but afterwards honored the drafts upon the personal intercession of Dwarkanath who happened to be at the time in London. At length the Bank departing from the principle of legitimate banking, met with its ruin. Its funds were swallowed up in Indigo advances made to a few particular houses. These Indigo engagements and dealing in bills of exchange were the main causes of its failure in 1847.

The stoppage of the Union Bank spread alarm and consternation in the mercantile world. The limited liability principle not being then in operation, the shareholders were assessed according to their means, real or supposed, at the caprice of the liquidators.

We resume the thread of our story. In connection with his firm, Dwarkanath established Indigo factories at Seladah and other places. Commercolly, the chief mouzah of Berampore, his ancestral zemindary, was the seat of a silk manufactory belonging to the Government. On the abolition of the silk monopoly, Dwarkanath purchased the Commercolly filatures, and worked them on account of Carr, Tagore and Co. He also worked the coal mines at Raneegunge, and also a sugar factory at Ramnuggur.

It may be here observed that there was a directness and a thoroughness in his way of doing business not common then among his uneducated and untrained countrymen. Let him act as a merchant or as a zemindar, he did everything to the best of his power. The prudence with which emergencies were

seen, and the energy with which they were grappled, made him a successful man of business. Voltaire says men succeed less by talents than character. Dwarkanath illustrated the Voltairian theory, inasmuch as his character as a person of uncommon energy, and judgment, and tact, wielding vast resources and exercising great influence among all classes was the secret of his success. It is, therefore, small wonder that the firm of Carr, Tagore, and Co. rose to be a first rate one, and its partners were considered the representatives of the commercial interest.

His career as a zemindar was no less successful than that of a merchant and a manufacturer. The following estates were purchased by him in the course of a few years after he set himself up as a merchant. Kaleegram in Rajshahye. Shahazadpore in Pubna, Surrooppore in Rungpore, 13 annas share of the Mundle Ghât estates, Dwarkashini, Juggodishpore Mahommed Shahee in Jessore, Shorgarah in Cuttack, and several other zemindaries.

But while Dwarkanath was purchasing new zemindaries and consolidating and improving them, his ancestral zemindary, Berampore, became a source of trouble to him. The ryots being determined to withhold rents, organised an *ekajote*, or League, to resist the proceedings of the zemindar for the recovery of his dues. They petitioned the Magistrate to institute a local enquiry, and the Magistrate came and pitched his tent on the spot. The ryots came up, and complained of the oppressions of the Naibs and Gomustas, and demanded redress. The

Huzoor, forgetting there are two sides to a story, believed them to be the aggrieved parties. He, accordingly, promised them his protection, and thereby encouraged them in the course they were pursuing. While the Magistrate was acting as the ryots' friend, Dwarkanath instituted enquiries into his past career, and found he had been guilty of several acts of omission and commission. Determined to bring the Magistrate to bay and regain his rights, he went up to Berampore, and requested an interview with that officer. It was held at night, and in the tent of the Magistrate. Dwarkanath complained to him of the lawless combination entered into by the ryots for the purpose of defrauding him of his rents, and asked him to break it up, as it not only prejudiced his individual interests but endangered the peace of the district. The Magistrate in his turn lectured Dwarkanath on the duty of protecting the ryots from the oppression of the Mofussil Amlah. Dwarkanath at last convinced the Magistrate that what he had heard from the ryots was greatly exaggerated, and had little or no foundation in truth, and demanded the restoration of his rights as an act of justice. The Magistrate still hesitating to comply with this requisition, Dwarkanath reminded him of his peccadillos and further threatened to hand him up to the Superintendent of Police, the then terror of Magistrates, for his arbitrary and one-sided proceedings at Berampore. On this the ryot's friend collapsed into the partizan of the zemindar, and peace was restored, and Berampore succumbed.

Towards another official, with whom he was differently circumstanced, he followed a different line of conduct—the line most congenial to his instincts and feelings. He had been a judge of a district in Bengal, had fallen ill, had taken a furlough, and was in Calcutta *en route* to Europe. He had scarcely taken up his quarters at Spence's Hotel, when he was informed that his creditors, to whom he owed about a lac of rupees, would stop his departure and lodge him in No. 1 Chowringhee. In his precarious state of health, to rot in jail and forego the change, was certain death. He thought of various expedients to extricate himself from his perilous position. He at last thought of Dwarkanath, of whom he had heard much as a helper of the needy, but with whom he was not personally acquainted. He, however, made up his mind to make an appeal to his generosity. He, accordingly, wrote a letter to Dwarkanath, acquainting him with his distressing situation, and asking for help. It came to him more promptly than he had expected. On the receipt of the letter Dwarkanath made enquiries about the statements contained therein, and when he was satisfied of their truth, he paid a lac of rupees to the parties to whom his correspondent was indebted, and got back the the bonds and notes. With these papers he called on the ex-judge, and introduced himself. The ex-judge then commenced a narrative of his case with a view to move his sympathy, but Dwarkanath stopped him short, made over the papers, and told him he was free to go to Europe. The ex-judge was overwhelmed with gratitude, and could only

weep out his thanks. He offered to give a bond, but Dwarkanath refused to take it, saying it was of no manner of use, inasmuch as it would be waste paper in the event of his death, and it would be unnecessary in the event of his recovery and return to India, as he was then sure to repay the money.

This act of generosity was characteristic of Dwarkanath. He did not however lose by it in a pecuniary point of view, as the ex-judge returned and repaid the money.

These two instances prove that Dwarkanath was a clever as well as a generous man, with a strong eye to his own interest, and a lively and hearty sympathy for all persons around him.

To collect rents and to buy and ship produce was not a life sufficient for Dwarkanath. He wanted to do something for his fatherland and for his own generation. To get through life easily and secure as much money as possible by the way, is the theory of the herd of men. But it was not Dwarkanath's theory. His was to improve and elevate his country, and, if possible, to lead her to greatness and win himself fame. That was the one dream of his manhood, and became the one purpose of his after-life. He was not destitute of ambition—"the last infirmity of a noble nature." He strove to raise his country along with himself. He knew that work was the destiny of humanity, and he threw himself heartily into it, but he wanted to vary it with higher labors—even the labors of the patriot and the philanthropist. And he possessed the first requisite of the patriot and the philanthropist, viz., a generous and broad

and intense sympathy with his fellow beings. It was not bounded by the restrictions of race, or creed, or color. It embraced all men requiring it. It was not a lip-deep sympathy, but was manifested in unmistakable and substantial ways.

Disraeli says that, in England to achieve distinction, a man must have genius, a million, or blood. Now Dwarkanath had a touch of genius which gave inspiration to his judgment. He had something akin to genius in respect to his marvellous knowledge of men and his faculty of moulding and managing them; but he owed his rise less to this or the other attributes predicated by Disraeli than to his active benevolence, his high resolve, and his tenacity and persistency of purpose.

We have seen how generously he came to the rescue of the ex-zillah judge. We could endlessly multiply such instances. We could point out to hundreds of Europeans and natives, officials and non-officials, whom he assisted and accommodated and rescued from ruin and established in life. The names of those who obtained, on his recommendation and through his exertions, employment in Government offices, banks, and mercantile houses is legion. There were others whom he took by the hand and set up as merchants, traders, and brokers of produce and freight, bills and stock. Many of these men are still living, and by them his memory is cherished as that of a father and a guardian angel. We thus see it was not in Dwarkanath to close his purse-strings or steel his heart against distress and to indulge in sensual pleasures. It was

not enough for him to drift down the life stream for his personal gratification, or to live unto himself. If "friendship caught his arm," or if impecuniosity clogged his heels, he would not shake them off, but take them up in a loving spirit. A person, a resident in mofussil, whom he had known in school, being in distress, informed him by letter of his miserable plight, and applied for pecuniary assistance. Dwarkanath remitted to his quondam school-fellow five hundred rupees, and requested him to come down to Calcutta that he might provide for his permanent support. He came, and was installed in a situation befitting his capacity. His broad humanity transcended all sectarian and sectional lines of demarcation. It was a humanity which made arid places fertile, and lifted up those who, overweighed with anxieties and debt, had sunk into depths of destitution.

We have before us a correspondence between Dwarkanath and his old master and friend Mr. Plowden. It appears that, on the recommendation of Dwarkanath, several of the Amlas had been employed by Mr. Plowden in the Collectorate of the 24-Pergunnahs. One of them, through the system of lax supervision then obtaining, embezzled some money in the Stamp Department. On this fact having been brought to the notice of Government, Mr. Plowden was ordered to make good the loss. On Dwarkanath being informed of this, he wrote to Mr. Plowden to say that he was morally responsible for the loss, and must be allowed to reimburse the deficiency. The following is a well letter of

Mr. Plowden illustrates the relation in which he stood with him :

MY DEAR DWARKANATH,—Kindest friend, there is no one I leave with more regret than I do you. I shall always gratefully bear in mind every thing you have done for me. I cannot resist writing so much.

Mr. Parker leaves me to-night. God bless you, and let me hear from you soon.

A note of infinite compassion for humanity rang through the whole composition of Dwarkanath. His munificent donation of a lac of rupees to the District Charitable Society enabled that institution to extend its beneficent operations. It was an act of enlightened liberality, the like of which had not been before performed by any of his countrymen. The sum was vested in trust by Dwarkanath, as a fund for the poor blind. In alluding to it Mr. Parker, one of the trustees of the Dwarkanath Fund, thus writes to him.

MY DEAR DWARKANATH,—I will readily undertake, in concert with Mr. William Prinsep, to make all communications with the District Charitable Society which your munificent gift may render necessary. I feel myself honoured by being associated, however humbly, in such a work, by being associated with that which will redound to the lasting honor of my excellent—my noble hearted—friend.

I have known you now, my dear Dwarkanath, for many years. I have known and revered your integrity, your disinterestedness, your unequalled kindness of heart. I have so known you, that however others may be surprised at as much as they may admire the act of the magnificent liberality of noble charity, I am not surprised. Need I say more to justify my anxious desire ever to be considered your affectionate and sincere friend.

There was scarcely a charitable or educational institution to which Dwarkanath did not contribute. These noble contributions marked him out as a philanthropist of a noble type. His name was conspicuous in every movement of public importance, and his purse-strings were open to calls for all public subscriptions.

The career of Dwarkanath is from this time contemporaneous with organic and radical changes in the social and mental and moral aspect of his country—changes which he did much to bring about. It represented an era of unprecedented progress in the national life of the Hindus.

When Dwarkanath saw light, ignorance and superstition reigned rampant: The Hindu widows were immolated at the funeral pile of their husbands; the natives were persecuted and proscribed as a subject race; the dark fatality of a dark skin crushed and kept them down; the crime of color was considered the most atrocious in the social and political code governing the country; the community was divided into Sahiblogues and the natives. These two classes composing the dominant few, and the subject many, not understanding each other, were estranged and alienated. Now what did Dwarkanath leave behind? A Hindu College and a Medical College; the revolting rite of *Suttee* abolished and branded by law as murder; a Landholders' Society representing a most important interest in the country; steam communication; a free press; an uncovenanted judicial service; a subordinate executive service; and a better understanding between

the Natives and the Europeans,—being the first step to a fusion of the two races.

* I feel now called upon not to describe the processes by which these reforms were consummated, but to indicate the share which Dwarkanath took in their consummation. I have elsewhere given a historical sketch of the Hindu College, and it is only necessary to mention here that Dwarkanath cordially co-operated with Dr. H. H. Wilson and David Hare, in the re-organization of the Hindu College, and “the erection,” in the words of the General Committee of Public Instruction, “of that institution into a seminary of the highest possible description for the cultivation of the English language.” The educational policy of the Government was then embodied in the following remarks of the General Committee of Public Instruction :

At present the extensive cultivation of some foreign language which is always very improving to the mind is rendered indispensable by the almost total absence of vernacular literature, and the consequent impossibility of obtaining a tolerable education from that source only. The study of English, to which many circumstances induce the natives to give the preference, and with it the knowledge of the learning of the West, is therefore daily spreading. This, as it appears to us, is the first stage in the process by which India is to be enlightened. The natives must learn before they can teach. The best educated among them must be placed in possession of some knowledge, before they can transfer it into their own languages.

Thanks to this policy for the furtherance of education,—the only possible and practicable policy, and which has in point of fact always been, and ought always to be, acted upon by the Government—the

Hindu College proved a brilliant success. Its alumni, like the tops of the Kanchungunga, were the first to catch and reflect the dawn. They were the first band of reformers who made noble exertions to improve and elevate their country. They were eager to communicate the knowledge they had acquired at the College to their less fortunate countrymen, and they established for this purpose several schools in and around Calcutta. The affairs of the Hindu College were conducted by a Committee of Management of which Dwarkanath was a member, and not the least zealous one. The principal members of the committee, both Native and European, believed that the liberal education of the higher classes must precede the instruction of the masses, and that the best way of reaching the latter lies through their natural leaders and chiefs. No one was more strongly impressed with this belief than that apostle of native education, David Hare, the anniversary of whose death we are now assembled to commemorate. He, as well as Dr. H. H. Wilson and Dwarkanath, thought that the primary condition of popular education is the previous provision of education for those classes of the community who, from their position in life, are able and willing to devote themselves to study and to direct and control the instruction of the poorer classes. If these men had thought or acted differently, we should not now see so many flourishing colleges and central schools, nor hear people prate for their abolition.

Dwarkanath interested himself in the Medical College from its establishment on the 1st June 1835,

With a view to encourage the medical students in their studies, he offered a donation of three yearly sums of Rupees 2,000 for distribution in prizes. On the 24th March 1836, Dwarkanath wrote to Mr. Principal Bramley as follows :

I am unwilling to offer you my congratulations upon the success which has attended your undertakings in the Medical College, without showing that my feelings towards the institution are more substantial than those which words only can express.

Should all your expectations be realized, and there is every reason to believe they will, the Medical College cannot fail to produce the happiest results amongst my countrymen.

No man, I assure you, is more sensible than I am of the benefits which such an institution is calculated to dispense, but I know also that you have many very great difficulties before you, and the greater part of these you will have to contend with at the outset. My own experience enables me to tell you that no inducement to native exertion is so strong as that of pecuniary reward, and I am convinced you will find difficulties disappear in proportion to the encouragement offered to the students in this particular.

As an individual member of the native community, I feel it belongs to us to aid, as far as lies in our power, the promotion of your good cause. At present this can hardly be expected on any very great scale, but as example may be of service to you, I for one will not be backward to accept your invitation to my countrymen to support the College.

I beg, therefore, as an inducement to the native pupils now studying in the institution, and to those who may hereafter, to offer the annual sum of Rs. 2,000 for the ensuing three years, to be distributed in the form of prizes. In order that these may be of substantial value to the candidates, I propose that the prizes should not exceed eight or ten in number, and that they should be available to Foundation Students only and natives *bonâ fide* pupils of the College. All other arrangements in regard to their distribution I leave to your discretion.

To this the following reply was sent by the Secretary of the General Committee of Public Instruction:

TO BABOO DWARKANATH TAGORE.

SIR,—The Sub-Committee controlling the Medical College has submitted to the General Committee of Public Instruction your letter of the 24th ultimo to the Principal, in which, with a view to encourage the study of medical science amongst your countrymen, you tender the donation of three yearly sums of 2,000 Rupees for distribution in prizes to native students of merit.

2nd. The General Committee desires me to accept your liberal offer, and at the same time to convey to you how highly it estimates the enlightened philanthropy by which it has been dictated.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) J. C. SUTHERLAND,

Secretary, G. C. P. J.

3/ } FORT WILLIAM,
The 12th April 1876. }

The thanks of the Board of Education were again and publicly accorded to Dwarkanath at the annual distribution of prizes and diplomas to the successful medical students, for the active interest taken by him in the welfare of the College and the substantial encouragement offered by him. The Medical College has been the nursery of our medical men. It has fed all the dispensaries in the mofussil. Its alumni are also to be found in the army, in charge of jails, in private practice, at railway stations, on board steamers and passenger ships, in the employ of zemindars and planters, and in depôts and shops.

But when the College was first established, it encountered formidable difficulties, not the least of

which was the general repugnance of the Hindus to dissection. The constant presence of Dwarkanath in the dissecting-room did much to remove it. This devoted encouragement to the study of anatomy contributed in no inconsiderable degree to render the College within such a short time a great success. Dwarkanath continued to take the most lively interest in the welfare of the Medical College to the last, as we shall afterwards see.

One of the first acts in the public life of Dwarkanath was the active and effective co-operation he lent to Ram Mohun Roy in the abolition of the inhuman custom of *Suttee*. He appeared as the champion of the Hindu widow, and enlisted on her behalf his great influence, both with the Government and the public. He held that her immolation on the pile of her husband was neither sanctioned by the shastras, nor warranted by any interpretation of them, and declared that it should be put down by the strong arm of the law. When the *Dhurma Shava* assembled and petitioned the Government to perpetuate the *Suttee*, he regarded their opposition as senseless, and expressed his conviction that it should not, and could not, stay a social reform so imperatively called for. His prediction was verified. Lord William Bentinck, moved by the representations of Ram Mohun Roy and Dwarkanath, enacted a law for the abolition of *Suttee*, a law that redounds to the everlasting honor of that illustrious Governor-General, and entitles his memory to the lasting gratitude of every civilized man. To these exertions of Dwarkanath in the cause of

suffering humanity, Lady William Bentinck subsequently bore the following testimony:—

MY DEAR SIR,—Referring to our late conversation in which you expressed a desire to possess some testimony from me of the part you have taken in bringing about a measure on which the mind and heart of your former Governor-General were so intently fixed, I have much pleasure in stating that, among the Native Community of Calcutta, the late Ram Mohan Roy and yourself were the persons who took the warmest interest, and afforded the most important information tending to show that, although by long established custom, the awful rite had obtained the effect of law, still it was a ceremony not really inculcated by the Shastras of the Hindus; and, generally speaking, by the example given by yourself and a few others, a beginning was made in shaking the prejudices of your countrymen, and opening their minds to the great truths of European science which are calculated to lead to important results.

From myself, Dear Sir, accept my anxious wish that your life which has been rendered so valuable to your country may be long spared to enable you still further to extend the useful benefit of your example, and I indulge the expectation that what you have seen and heard, during your short residence in England, may and will enable you to impress upon your countrymen the happy consequences that are likely to result from the more intimate connection which the present rapid communication between the two countries are calculated to secure.

I beg to subscribe myself, very sincerely your friend,

(Sd.) M. WM. BENTINCK.

London, October 9, 1842.

Dwarkanath was one of the first to estimate rightly the influence of the landed aristocracy and the importance of utilizing that influence, and bringing it to bear on the good government of the country. With this view he established, in April 1868, the Landholders' Society, which used to meet in a

house adjoining his own. Mr. W. C. Hurry, the then Editor of the *Englishman*, and Babu Prosonno Coomar Tagore were appointed the Secretaries, but Dwarkanath was the life and soul, the *decus at tutemen* of the Landholders' Society. On the formation of the Society being intimated to the Government, the following letter recognizing it as the channel of communication between the State and the Landholders was received from Mr. Secretary H. T. Prinsep:—

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 7th instant, enclosing the prospectus of a Society to be called "The Landholders' Society," and requesting permission to address the Government through the medium of the Society's Secretary, in the same manner as is done by the Chamber of Commerce.

2. In reply, I am directed to state, that the Hon'ble the Deputy Governor of Bengal will always be disposed to receive and consider the representations of any class of the inhabitants, affecting their own interests or the good of the community. The communications of the Landholders' Society, upon matters connected with the Land Revenue and Judicial Departments of the Government, must be addressed in due course through the Secretary of those Departments.

Several questions of vital importance to the zemindars were taken up by the society. Among them may be mentioned the resumption question, or the measure proposed by Government for resuming lakhiraj tenures, and the Draft Act for the regulation of sales of landed estates in consequence of defalcation in the payment of revenue. The society made a bold stand on behalf of the lakhirajdars. At their requisition, a monster meeting was convened at the Town Hall for the purpose of memorialising the authorities in England against the resumption mea-

sure, and also for co-operating with the British India Society of London formed under the auspices of Lord Brougham. It was numerous and respectably attended by the European and Native inhabitants.

Mr. Dickens made an eloquent speech, showing the impolicy and injustice of the measure, declaring that the laws of Lord Cornwallis in 1793, taken in connection with the Limitation Act of Lord Wellesley of 1802, were the Charter of the lakhirajdars as well as of the holders of lands under the Permanent Settlement.

Dwarkanath dwelt at great length on the subject, and was cheered throughout. Referring to the *Friend of India* which had supported resumption and characterised the Landholders' Society and others opposed to it as selfish, he declared it was not the friend, but the foe of India, and scouted the idea of selfishness. "I am willing to allow that self-love is the main-spring of human actions, and that every society has some particular object or objects in view, which it endeavors to accomplish; but before I plead guilty to the charge made by the *Friend of India* against this institution, on the ground of its agitating the resumption question, I should like to be informed how many of the members of it possess rent-free lands (hear, hear). I am certain very few indeed would be discovered. How then, I ask, can we be selfish in agitating the resumption question (loud cheers). Is it then for ourselves or the people at large that we are agitating this subject? Regarding the resumption operations," Dwarkanath said

“ Mr. Dickens has, upon general principles, fully explained the nature of these operations. I shall now, in support of his position, mention a fact pointing out the injustice and hardship of resuming rent-free tenures, on the ground of inability on the part of the lakhirajdar to prove the registry of his sunnud. The Ranee Kateyanee, who is a member of this association, and one of the few who possess rent-free lands, affords the instance I allude to. The property in question was sold by Government for arrears of rent due to the State by its former owner on account of his revenue lands. At the time of the sale, it was declared to be rent-free, and purchased by the predecessors of the Ranee, upon the *bonâ fide* understanding, and the *bonâ fide* value of rent-free estates. Now, gentlemen, you will be a little surprised to hear that this very estate has since been resumed, because the present owner of it cannot shew the registry of her claim in the Collectorate of Behar, where, it is well known, the Government officers never kept a proper and complete registry as required by the Regulations.”

His speech was not clothed in fine or flowery English, but it was terse and to the point, and was set forth in his clear and pearly voice. It made a great impression, and elicited loud applause.

This agitation intensified the irritation against the resumption.

The newspapers of the day teemed with letters bitterly complaining of the oppressions caused by the resumption operations, conducted as they were, not by judicial or regularly-constituted courts, but

by special and exceptional tribunals. One of these tribunals, presided over by Mr. William, now known as Patna Tayler, decided in a single day nine hundred and odd resumption suits! At last Government was roused to a sense of justice, and the law was modified, so as to exempt from its operation religious endowments, lands held since the year 1790 and all parcels of lands aggregating not more than fifty biggahs situated in a single village. We ought rather to say, its severity, intensified by the oppressions of the Ameens deputed to investigate Lakheraj tenures, was mitigated by two Circular Orders issued by the Board of Revenue, under the direction of the Government, exempting the above mentioned descriptions of Lakheraj tenures from assessment.

The existing Regulations for the sale of zemindaries on account of arrears of public revenue, and for securing the rights of purchasers at public sales, being fraught with radical defects, the Landholders' Society solicited the Government of Bengal to move the Government of India to enact a comprehensive law to remedy the evils complained of. In reply, the Hon'ble the Deputy Governor of Bengal said that such a law was under the consideration of the Supreme Government. The first law, Act I of 1841, was crude in its inception, but some of its provisions were elaborated and improved at the instance of the Landholders' Society and the Planters' Association which submitted several valuable suggestions. It was followed up by Act XII of 1841 discontinuing the levy of interest and penalty upon arrears of

revenue—a concession for which the community is chiefly indebted to the Landholders' Association.

The Landholders' Society, growing into an influential political body, provoked hostile criticism in certain quarters. The *Friend of India* and the *Calcutta Courier* condemned the policy of the Government in recognising it as the medium of communication between the state and the landed interest.

Lord William Bentinck and his successor, Lord Auckland, heeded not the alarmists, but regarded constitutional agitation as a help to good government. The Landholders' Society, although it was a most useful body, and did good in its own generation, represented only one class; it is therefore no wonder that it was superseded by a more catholic political body, which subsequently culminated into the present British Indian Association, comprising all classes, and representing all interests.

About this time Lord William Bentinck, having proved the greatest benefactor to India, and the most enlightened statesman who had wielded her destinies, laid down the sceptre of his exalted office. The different sections of the community, including even that section which was affected by the half-batta order which had been forced on the retiring Governor-General by the Court of Directors, remembering only the world of good done by His Lordship, resolved on holding public meetings for the purpose of testifying their profound respect and lasting gratitude. The Hindus, headed by Dwarkanath, met at the Hall of the Sanscrit College, and voted an address to Lord William

bentinck expressive of their sentiments towards His Excellency.

The reply of His Lordship to the address was so characteristic that we cannot resist the temptation of quoting the following passage from it:—

You alone can accurately judge of the effects of our administration. You can best decide upon its failure or success, and your ratifying testimony upon this occasion encourages me to hope that we have not lost sight of the great end and purposes of British Government in India, as laid down for our guidance by the Legislature and the Home authorities, and so eloquently and justly described in your address to be these:—"To establish a community of feeling and of interest between races separated by almost every conceivable circumstances of alienation. To efface all distinction between conquerors and conquered; and to make all in heart and mind, in hopes and aspirations, one with Englishmen."

It is the consummation of this great truth that is to be devoutly prayed for. The foundation once solidly laid, the greatness and honor of Britain, the happiness, prosperity, and independence of India can never be impaired. But it would ill become me in my position to conceal the unpleasant fact that, during my course, I have seen too much of this conqueror's spirit, of the pride of domination, of the abuse of power, and of the too general oppression of the strong over the weak, to be able to pronounce that this wished-for time is arrived. These evils still require the strong hand of authority to put them down, the establishment of a more simple code of laws, and what is of greater importance, a more efficacious administration of them.

In the year 1835, Dwarkanath proceeded on a tour to the North-Western Provinces. He was accompanied by his family physician, Baboo Dwarkanath Goepu, one of the first fruits of the Medical College, which he did so much to foster, and now the Nestor of the graduates of that institution. He travelled in those pre-railway days by dark ghoses

along the Trunk Road, and saw the great cities, Benares, Allahabad, Agra, and Mothoora. He admired the palaces and tombs, the musjeeds and minarets which are the glory of Northern India. At Agra, he was struck (as who is not?) with the unique Taj, "the kohi-noor of architecture," its wealth of pure white marble and exquisiteness of Mosaic work glorifying the doors and wandering towards the minarets. From Mothoora he proceeded to Brindabun, the nursery of Krishna, the Jerusalem of the Hindus. There he gave a feast to the Choubeyas, such as they had seldom enjoyed, at a cost of ten thousand Rupees. The Choubeyas are high caste Brahmins, chiefly attached to the temples of Brindabun. They were fed in an extensive tope of Tamul, one of the umbrageous groves where Krishna is supposed to have held dalliance with Radha. The majority of the guests of Dwarkanath were muscular *Visnubahs*, strong healthy men, endowed with giant's appetites. They brought with them *lotas* of *Bhang* which they imbibed before they sat down to dinner. Being thus fortified they did ample justice to the creature comforts spread before them. Three or four seers of *metayés* and *puris* were consumed by each of them. At last, when they were satisfied, they shouted "Radha maye ki Jai"—"Dwarkanath Baboo ki Jai." While Dwarkanath was visiting the Fort at Agra, some soldiers, Irishmen by birth and Roman Catholics by religion, accosted him, and represented to him the disadvantage they laboured under by reason of their Church receiving no pecuniary aid from the Government, and being in

lapidated condition. They solicited his assistance in the matter. Dwarkanath after due enquiry paid a hundred rupees for the repair of the Church.

His visit to the North-Western Provinces, and study of the tenures of land prevailing therein, convinced him of the necessity and importance of the extension of the Permanent Settlement.

In the establishment of a comprehensive steam intercourse between England and India, Dwarkanath took a lively interest. To his far-seeing mind was one of the greatest questions that ever interested his country, and he assiduously and diligently labored with Mr. C. B. Greenlaw, Captain James Barber, Mr. M. A. Curtis, and other gentlemen engaged in promoting the formation of a Steam Company."

The history of steam communication is a story of difficulties overcome, and perseverance rewarded. It was when the establishment of a communication between England and India, *via* the Red Sea, was considered as utopian as the excavation of the Suez canal some years later. But a few bold spirits took up the matter in right earnest, and organized themselves into a committee. At their instance a provisional committee, representing the Bengal, Bombay, and Madras Presidencies, was formed in London, and was supported by petitions and memorials from Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, and also by the advice and influence of Lord William Bentinck, who had returned from India. A deputation of this committee, headed by Mr. Hutt, M. P. for Hull, was sent upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to

solicit the support of His Majesty's Government the scheme of steam communication. Another deputation of members of Parliament and merchants of London had an interview with the President of Board of Control with the same view. The measure met with the support of both Sir John Cam House and the Court of Directors. The Calcutta committee urged on the London committee the necessity of obtaining the most complete communication between England and India, and held that this was precisely one of those projects which could alone work out the advantages derivable from it its being carried into effect on the most efficient scale.

The outline of the plan originally submitted to the London Committee to the Court of Directors was as follows :—

In carrying into effect steam communication between Great Britain and India, it is to be borne in mind that all intercourse between Egypt and Europe will be subject to the Quarantine laws and therefore it becomes absolutely necessary to have regular boats from Malta to Alexandria, so as to have the boats from Falmouth to Malta, always in free practice. The plan proposes therefore to have two vessels to be confined to the route between Malta and Alexandria. (The transit from Alexandria to Suez to be undertaken by the Company); three vessels for communication to and from England to Malta; four vessels for the services between Suez and Bombay.

The gross outlay contemplated for the whole service is £20,000.

The annual expenditure required for the efficient prosecution of the intercourse, the annual repairs of the boats, their insurance and for a fund to serve for the replacing of capital, is estimated at £123,000.

After minute and careful calculation, the income must, for many years, fall far short of the annual expenditure, and it is the

contemplated that the Government and the Company would grant £65,000 as an annual allowance for the transmission of the Mediterranean Mail, and the East India Company's and Government dispatches to and from India. (Private Letters to become a perquisite to the Company.)

The intention of the Company is to have a vessel to leave Bombay and England on the 1st of every month, and it is expected, to do the service in the space of fifty-two days, without intermission, throughout the year.

This plan was afterwards considerably modified and enlarged. Mr. Turton was sent to England, and he associated himself with the London Committee. In their efforts to bring about the important measure entrusted to them, the committee met with strong opposition from parties not understanding the bearings of the question. But after many disappointments and difficulties it was ultimately carried out. Now that steam communication has annihilated distance, we cannot but feel deeply grateful to the promoters of this great undertaking. Steam communication between India and Europe means the intercommunication of knowledge and the elevation of our country.

Dwarkanath believed the press to be a puissant engine for good. It was in his time represented by the *Bengal Hurkaru*, the *John Bull*, the *Calcutta Courier*, the *Friend of India*, and the *Calcutta Journal*. The first mentioned journal was under the editorial management of Mr. James Sutherland, a ripe scholar and a politician of moderate but sound views. Dwarkanath purchased a considerable share of the right title and interest of the *Hurkaru*. His object in thus becoming part

proprietor of that leading journal was to enlist its advocacy of the just rights and privileges of his countrymen, and thereby to counteract the savage and unscrupulous attacks of the *John Bull* upon the natives. The other proprietors were Colonel Young and Mr. Samuel Smith. There was a large library in the *Murkaru* Office. In this library Dwarkanath occasionally met his friends William Adams and Rammohun Roy, for the purpose of hearing them discourse on unitarianism. To their views he leaned, but never committed himself. The *John Bull* was "coached" by the Rev. Dr. Bryce; the *Friend of India* by Mr. Marshman; the *Courier* by Mr. Osborne, and the *Calcutta Journal* by Mr. Holcroft, who had succeeded the persecuted and celebrated Silk Buckingham, the founder of the Journal. The vernacular press was also ably represented by the *Sungbad Probhakar* and the *Sungbad Vhaskar*; the former was edited by Issur Chunder Goopto, a man of great natural parts and uncommon penetration. He lisped in numbers, for the numbers came. His style was characterized by the accuracy of the philosopher and the polished diction of the poet. He was a sweet-tempered and generous-hearted man, seldom roused to anger except when wantonly attacked by his contemporary of the *Vhaskar*, whom he used to pay in his own coin. The *Vhaskar* was under the editorial management of Goureesunker Bhattacharjea, a moral contrariety to Issur Chunder. Sour-tempered and narrow-minded, he delighted to blackguard men eminent in position and talents, and for this he came more than once to

grief. He was, however, master of a sober and nervous Bengalee style, but it was as often prostituted to bad, as rendered subservient to good, purposes.

Dwarkanath thoroughly appreciated the merits of Issur Chunder Goopto, and accorded to him every assistance, patronising largely the *Probhakur*, and offering him valuable suggestions for the conduct of that paper.

The Anglo Indian press was represented by the *Gynanason*, a diglot paper, conducted by Baboo Russick Krishna Mullick, Head Master of Mr. Hare's School. The other members of this branch of the press were the *Enquirer*, which was conducted by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea, and the *Reformer* by Baboo Prosunno Coomar Tagore. The *Gynanason* having once indulged in a venomous hit at Dwarkanath, he was advised by a relative, and himself an editor, to go and horse-whip Mr. Mullick. Instead of following this advice, he invited Baboo Russick Krishna Mullick to dinner, and explained to him that he was wrong. Russick Krishna was charmed with the manners of his host, and his feelings towards him underwent a change. Dwarkanath knew how to disarm enmity better than most men.

Believing, as he did, that the press, if free from the restrictions imposed on it by the Government, would be a still more powerful instrument for the improvement of the country, Dwarkanath became an earnest champion for its emancipation.

He was convinced that a free press was a bulwark against oppression, and one of the greatest safeguards of the rights of his countrymen,—rights

invaded and trampled on in several directions. He spared neither money nor personal exertions to secure to his country the benefits of the institution. When the Press Act was passed, he stood forth to fight the good fight; incurring heavy charges in retaining counsel to argue against the registration of the law in the Supreme Court, and afterwards in petitioning the Parliament; for in those days the Court, as recently observed by Mr. Justice Norman in the Wahabee case, had the power not only of registering Acts passed by the Government, but of hearing expression of public opinion on their merits.

The history of the Freedom of the Press in India is the gradual growth of a healthy public opinion among public men. The Marquis of Hastings was the first statesman who recorded a declaration in favor of a Free Press. Lord Amherst disapproved of the restrictions on the Press, but he lacked moral courage to repeal them. He said that as they had been enacted by men of great experience, and approved of by the Court of Directors, he would not meddle with them, but would never take advantage of them in his own case.

Lord William Bentinck virtually emancipated the press, but he did not unfortunately come forward to legalise its freedom.

At length Sir Charles Metcalfe recorded his high-minded decision that the press should be legally and absolutely free, and directed the publication of the Regulation proposed in Council on the 27th April 1834. It was this project of law which moved the community of Calcutta to express their grati-

tude to the Governor-General. On the 5th January 1835, a general meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta was held at the Town Hall, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning the Governor-General in Council, or the Legislative Council of India, to repeal the Press Regulation passed in 1824, and to remove the restrictions upon public meetings, and also of petitioning the British Parliament upon the subject of the late Act for renewing the Company's Charter. The Press Regulations referred to, thus commenced,—“ The Governor-General in Council, with reference to the bye-law passed on the 14th ultimo, and registered in the Supreme Court on the 4th instant, deems it proper to notify to the proprietors and editors of newspapers and other periodical works, as specified in the aforesaid bye-law, that the publication in any such paper or periodical works of matter coming under any of the following heads, will subject them to be deprived of the licence under which such paper or other periodical work may be conducted.” The heads indicated above were in respect to statements touching the character, constitution, measures, and orders of the authorities in England and India, and also to discussions calculated to create alarm among the native population, of any intended official interference with their religious opinions and observances.

The restraints on public meetings were embodied in the following extract from a general letter from the Court of Directors dated 23rd July 1835 :—

" We direct, on the receipt of this dispatch, that public notice be issued forbidding, under pain of our high displeasure, any public assemblage either of our own servants, or of private merchants, traders or other inhabitants whatsoever, without first obtaining the sanction of the Government through the medium of the sheriff for the time being ; and we further direct that with the application for holding such meetings, the subjects intended to be taken into consideration, be also submitted to your previous consideration, in order that you may have it in your power to judge of the propriety of allowing the questions that may be proposed to be agitated, and on no consideration whatever is the sheriff or the officers presiding at such meetings to allow any subject to be considered that has not been previously submitted for your consideration. We have full confidence, however, that our Government in India will not preclude our servants or other European inhabitants from meeting for the purpose of expressing their sentiments, whenever proper subjects are submitted for their deliberation."

This guiding ordinance was neither a dead letter nor was allowed to lie in abeyance, but was rigidly enforced. Several public meetings called under requisitions signed by several most respectable and influential individuals were actually disallowed. The following instance will suffice. Mr. John Palmer and several other influential citizens of Calcutta, having requested the sheriff to convene a meeting for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for declaratory Acts relating to certain subjects involving interests of great importance, the following notice was issued at the instance of the Government.

Notice is hereby given that the meeting called under a requisition, signed by J. Palmer, Esquire, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, and advertised for the 17th instant at the Town Hall, will not take place.

(Sd.) J. PLOWDEN,

CALCUTTA, 12th May 1827.

This state of things was galling to the advanced spirit of the age. It is, therefore, no wonder that Mr. T. Dickens in moving the adoption of the petition to Parliament at the meeting, characterised the above notice as "a most jealous, senseless, and capricious exertion of arbitrary power."

Dwarkanath thus followed Mr. Dickens :—

Gentlemen !—In rising to second the resolution that this petition be adopted, I am only doing that which I did ten years ago. When this regulation was first promulgated, I with three of my own relations, and my lamented friend the late Rammohun Roy, were the only persons who petitioned the Supreme Court against it ; but most sincerely do I congratulate the community at large, that I now see the whole room of the Town Hall filled both with Europeans and Natives, for the purpose of protesting against the regulation. At that time I did not ask any European to sign a petition, his signature to which might have subjected him to transportation ; the same objection, however, did not exist in the case of the natives, for the Government even of that day could hardly have transported them. But none of the natives could I prevail upon to join me, and I believe it was thought I should be hanged the next day for my boldness. I think the present is the very time we ought to petition against the regulation, because for the last eight years we have, under the rule of Lord William Bentinck, enjoyed a really free press, in spite of its provisions. If we could only secure Lord William Bentinck as a Governor-General, there would be no need of a petition, for with him this law is a dead letter, as well as many of the Court of Directors' laws ; but we do not know who we may get next, and for anything we can tell to the contrary, Mr. Sutherland and Mr. Stoequelor may be turned out by the next Governor-General. This, then, is the time we ought to petition ; and I have every hope from the known character of Lord William Bentinck and from the interest he has always taken in the welfare of the natives and in that of the community at large, that he will repeal the regulations ; and when once it is repealed, I think it will be difficult for any future Governor-General to get it enacted again.

When the freedom of the press became an accomplished fact, the inhabitants of Calcutta met for the purpose of testifying their gratitude to the Governor-General. The Meeting was held at the Town Hall on the 8th June 1835.

Mr. Turton, in an eloquent address, moved the first resolution which ran as follows:—

That it is expedient that an address should be presented by the inhabitants of Calcutta to the Governor-General of India, Sir C. T. Metcalfe, expressive of the satisfaction and gratitude which they feel at the proposed law relating to the Press of India, and for repealing the Regulation of March, 1823, relating to the Press of Bengal.

Dwarkanath Tagore expressed to the meeting the pleasure he felt at the promulgation of the proposed law. He said—

He had ever felt a deep interest in the removal of all restrictions on the freedom of the Press, and had partaken in every public expression of feeling on that subject. It was natural, therefore, that he should be pleased with the victory, and as he had helped to fight the battle he could not do better than second this resolution.

The address voted at the meeting was presented to Sir C. T. Metcalfe on the 20th June 1835, by a deputation of which Dwarkanath formed a member. In his reply to the address, Sir Charles said:—

The time was when the freedom of the Press was considered as intolerable for any class in India. That has passed away, and many now admit that there is not much harm, and that there may be some good in granting it to Europeans, but still entertain apprehension as to its injurious effects, if enjoyed by natives. I do not participate in those apprehensions, but of this I am sure that to legislate in distrust of our native fellow-subjects, or to

legislate differently for them and for Europeans in matters of right and liberty would be extremely unwise and unjustifiable policy. The Press will be always under the safeguard of laws, and the laws can be made where laws are wanting. The existence of a local legislature which can at any time provide for the safety of the State, should it be endangered has removed the only formidable bar which before opposed the complete liberty of the Press.

It was certainly the brightest feature in the Press regulation that it was not a law for the Englishman only, but also for the children of the soil, and that it repudiated the idea of any such distinction between the two races.

In February 1838, a public dinner was given to commemorate the freedom of the Press, and to do honour to its liberator Sir Charles, afterwards Lord, Metcalfe. Dwarkanath wrote a letter to the Chairman of the Festival, regretting his inability to join it, and rejoicing at the privilege of free expression of opinion of public measures and public men:—

It is my duty, more particularly, as a native landlord and merchant, and more intimate than most of my countrymen with yours and with the nature of the Government under which this great and rising country is connected with England, to speak out on an occasion like the present. I sincerely believe that the liberating of the Press in India is one of the most valuable acts ever attempted by the Indian Government. It strengthens their own hands and ears, and eyes, in ruling this vast region; and it is also a guarantee to the people that their rulers mean to govern with justice, since they are not afraid to let their subjects judge of their acts.

In proposing the health of Dwarknath, the Vice Chairman of the Free Press dinner, Mr. H. M. Parker,

paid the following eloquent and feeling tribute to his merits.

Thank God, the honor due to the name connected with my toast, depends upon a more solid foundation than my feeble word. That name is inscribed foremost amongst the foremost, on the roll of those most distinguished for mercantile liberality and commercial enterprise. It is among the first, if not the very first, on the list of active, able, and munificent citizens to whom the whole community is indebted. The name of my friend is revered by many whom he has saved or established in life by his judicious advice, or his liberal assistance. It is written in the hearts of thousands who have partaken of his inexhaustible charity; who have had cause to bless his boundless benevolence, confined to no caste, color, or creed. It shines brightly, surrounded with all that is urbane and kind and courteous, on the tablets of social hospitality. It is heard in the halls of our colleges, in the porticos of those literary and scientific institutions which he has supported and enriched. It shines gloriously through an act,—a recent act, of charity so princely, so magnificent, that I tax my memory in vain to discover a parallel to it within my own knowledge and experience. Above all, the name of this admirable citizen is inseparably connected with that cause whose triumph we have met this night to celebrate. Gentlemen, need I say after this that it is the name of Dwarkanath Tagore.

Referring to the donation of a lac of rupees to the District Charitable Society, commented on in such glowing terms by Mr. Parker, it may be here remarked that Dwarkanath was not content with contributing money, but used to take a most lively interest in the proceedings of that society. He was not only a beneficent but a benevolent man.

At a meeting of the District Charitable Society held in April 1840, the question of establishing an Alms-House, and the enactment of a Vagrant Law being mooted, the President, Sir Edward Ryan, asked

the Committee at first for the Native opinion regarding the latter point ere the former one was considered. Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore took the opportunity to intimate to the meeting that "he was fully advised to say that the Native community at large were unanimously favourable to a Code of Vagrant Law applicable to this country. That so far from their being at all opposed to it, a meeting had been convened by them some time ago, for the consideration of this subject, which arose in this way. A great backwardness becoming apparent among the Native community in regard to charitable subscriptions, a meeting had been called to enquire into the cause of this backwardness, when it appeared, that the general impression was, that the present mode of bestowing charities was entirely inefficient, beggars being permitted to infest the streets and bazars, and annoy people at their private dwellings. Besides, by the present system, imposition was but very partially counteracted, so that the charities conferred were in effect no charity at all. Hence arose the general unwillingness of the Native community to make further donations. I was, in consequence, canvassed, and to some extent decided to erect an Alms-House, Baboo Motee Lall Seal volunteering to give up a suitable spot of ground for this purpose, and Rustomjee Cowasjee coming forward to defray the expenses of the building. It was at this meeting also mooted, that in order to carry out an Alms-House effectually, some restrictions would be necessary to prevent the wandering of beggars in the streets, and that therefore a Vagrant Law was

indispensable. While this question was pending before the Native committee, the proposition of the District Charitable Society was started ; and, in consequence, the proceedings of the former were kept in abeyance to await the issue of the subject mooted by the latter. It would hence appear that the Native community were altogether favourable to a Vagrant Act, particularly as the annoyance of beggars in the Native division of the town far exceeds what it is in the European division."

The result of the discussion was the adoption of the following Bye-laws for the suppression of vagrancy, at the instance of Dwarkanath and Mr. McFarlan:—

"That the present practice of the society, which distributes relief almost wholly in money, is inherently liable to abuse, and has had injurious effect in the encouragement of pauperism.

"Proposed that it be discontinued.

"Public charity should provide nothing for the poor beyond wholesome food, decent raiment, and necessary shelter, and it should invariably exact an adequate return of labour from all able-bodied paupers who receive relief.

"Resolved, that the principle be acted on in the administration of the funds of the District Charitable Society as soon as the following arrangements are completed.

"To carry out this principle :—

"Resolved, that a Work House and Alms-House be erected.

"A considerable sum of money will be required for

the purchase of ground and the construction of buildings.

"Resolved, therefore, that Government be solicited to grant to the society an adequate portion of ground within the limits of the town, on which may be erected the requisite buildings, and that subscriptions be opened to provide a building fund.

"This meeting being of opinion that a Vagrant Act is now urgently required for Calcutta, and since it seems probable that the first effect of the plan of distributing alms now proposed will be to increase the number of the vagrant poor.

"Resolved, that Government be solicited to pass a law restraining promiscuous begging in the streets, bazars, and thoroughfares of the town."

Going back to 1835-36-37 we find those years witnessed several important public movements. Among the reforms attempted by the leading members of the community of Calcutta about this time was the introduction of Trial by Jury in Civil cases. The Supreme Court. Mr. Charles Prinsep, Mr. Agnew, and Mr. Clarke took the lead in this movement. On the 9th July 1835, a meeting, convened by the sheriff at the Town Hall, for the purpose of adopting such measures as might be best calculated to secure Trial by Jury in Calcutta, and likewise for considering the expediency of extending and promoting the Jury system. At this meeting the speakers dwelt at great length on the importance of Civil Juries, and particularly on their great utility in determining the facts brought forward in evidence. The meeting resolved that the late President of the Board of Control having

recommended, on the subject of introducing Trial by Jury in Civil cases, a petition be presented to the Governor-General of India in Council for that purpose. The meeting further appointed a committee for the purpose of preparing the draft of an Act, on suggestions to be forwarded with the petition to the Governor-General of India in Council, and also to adopt such other measures from time to time as may be necessary to further the proposed object. Dwarkanath was put on this committee, and he did his best to promote the above measure, but Government set its face against it, because it was not practicable. However desirable it may be to separate the jurisdiction of facts from the jurisdiction of law, yet it is not easy to effect this separation in a country where the number of men competent to serve as jurors in Civil cases are so few. The Jury system in Criminal cases in the Mofussil can scarcely be said to have answered the purpose, and the time has not yet come to extend it to Civil cases. It may, however, be occasionally tried in the original side of the High Court.

The first title "Black Act" dates from the time of its enactment. On the 18th June 1836 a general public meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, convened by the sheriff, was held at the Town Hall, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament against Act XI of the Legislative Council, repealing the 107th Section of 53rd Geo. III, Chapter 153, whereby British subjects were deprived of their right of appealing to English Courts of law against the decision of the Mofussil Tribu-

nals. The first resolution was moved by Mr. Turton, and was seconded by Dwarkanath. It ran as follows:—

“That in consequence of the passing of Act XI of 1836, the Government has declared an intention of abolishing all appeals to the only Courts of Justice in India, independent of the Government, whereby the rights and property of British subjects resident in the interior are rendered insecure, and the application of British skill and capital to the improvement of the resources of India will be checked, and it is therefore expedient to memorialize the Court of Directors and Board of Control to repeal or disallow this Act.”

Dwarkanath in seconding the above resolution spoke as follows:—

Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in rising to second this resolution, and I do hope that my doing so may be the humble means of removing an impression that the Natives of this country are indifferent to the subject of this discussion. Here we see assembled a set of intelligent gentlemen, among whom I perceive a number of natives who, I may say, are not ignorant now, though they were so under the rule of the Mofussil Courts.

But no! the “Central Free Press” will say that we are a set of ignorant Calcutta Baboos; and why will the Central Free Press say this? Because we will not run out of our houses on the approach of a Civil Servant’s palanquin, and fall prostrate in the street before him (laughter.)

If we are not so ignorant as our brethren in the Mofussil, and who will say that we are not better informed than they are. To whom are we indebted for it? To Englishmen. Twenty years ago the Company treated us as slaves. Who first raised us from this state, but the merchant of Calcutta? And the first among them was the late much lamented John Palmer. All that time the Government servants never took any interest to improve the condition of the natives, though there have been a few honorable exceptions.

It was to those who were called interlopers. (Hear, hear, and loud applause.)—It was to the merchants, agents, and other in-

dependent English settlers, that the natives of Calcutta were indebted for the superiority they possess over their countrymen of the Mofussil, and to the lawyers who are ever ready to defend the rights threatened to be infringed, they are also under particular obligation. Are the learned gentlemen who thus come forward to defend the rights of the people at every public meeting ever paid for their trouble? No! on the contrary their services are always gratuitous, and thus are they deserving the warmest thanks and sincerest gratitude from the people.

Instead of their receiving anything, I know that, in some cases, they have paid out of their own pockets for the expenses attending public meetings. We are told the Government wish to equalize Englishmen with the Natives. But what equalization do they put in practice?

The Natives have hitherto been slaves; are the Englishmen therefore to be made slaves also? This is the kind of equality the Government are seeking to establish. They have taken all which the Natives possessed; their lives, liberty, property and all were held at the mercy of Government, and now they wish to bring the English inhabitants of the country to the same state! They will not raise the Natives to the condition of the Europeans, but they degrade the Europeans by lowering them to the state of the Natives. (Hear, hear.)

If you, (addressing himself to the Englishmen present) do not come forward to defend your rights at this juncture, you will repent when it is too late; you will suffer what we have suffered for these last sixty years. Little is to be expected from our countrymen. They are timid in the extreme, and very reluctant to come forward in asserting their rights.

They fear that those who rule them will be displeased and would ruin them by a stroke of the pen: but, gentlemen, the fear is not without cause, for numbers of them have suffered for no other crime than displeasing a civil servant, or unintentionally omitting to make a *salam* when they are passing on the road. This is the character of the generality of them; the few exceptions are confined to those who, like himself have been spoilt by the interlopers (laughter). The majority of my countrymen say—"if I have lost one eye let me take care of the other," and thus they keep

themselves back from public meetings, and are tardy in the assertion of their rights. Do not be surprised, gentlemen, that there are so few Natives present on an important occasion like the present ; their absence is not unaccountable, for they do not understand the merits of the question we are considering. But a time will come when the case will be quite different.

Let the Hindu College go on, as it has gone on, for three or four years more, and you will have a meeting like this attended by four times the number of Natives. My friend, Mr. Turton, has brought to your notice one case which he had in the Mofussil, and has shewn the badness of the system pursued in the Courts there. My experience in those Courts is extensive : I have frequently been engaged in the management of suits in the Mofussil Courts, having property of my own, or relatives of mine, in almost every district of Bengal, and well know the system adopted there ; I have also some experience in the Supreme Court, and am therefore qualified to speak upon the merits of both. The costs of the Supreme Court I allow are heavy ; but heavy as they are, they are incurred openly and with proper authority ; so that when a case is decided the winning party gets back all the costs he has incurred. The case in regard to Mofussil Courts is very different. There the suit costs—the bribes to the corrupt *Amlahs*, amount to twenty times the authorised charges, and there, too, the costs when once given, are gone for ever. I am not so great a friend to the lawyers of Calcutta as to sacrifice my own interest for their sake. If I believed that the Mofussil Courts were preferable, I would not be such a fool as to pay more for justice here when I could obtain the same justice for a far less amount in the Mofussil. The fault, however, is not in the persons who preside over those Courts ; it is in the system, which needs reform.

To this the Law Commission should direct their attention. Why does not Mr. Macaulay correct the abuses of the present system ? Can any one find fault with the justice of the Supreme Court ? If its expenses are high, they should be lowered. I beg, Gentlemen, to call your attention to the evidence given by Rammohun Roy before the Committee of the House of Commons. That experienced and respected gentleman had nothing to say against the justice of the Supreme Court : its expenses were all that he

found fault with. The first and principal judges of the Mofussil Courts are the *Amlahs*, who lead the inexperienced judges as they please. There is scarcely any law for the realizing of money decreed by the Mofussil Courts. The Collector, perhaps the brother of the Judge, is the person to realize the money : but this functionary has more to do than he can well get through in the way of his immediate duties in the collection of the revenue, in attending to the resumption cases, and several other duties which fully occupy his time, and you may go on presenting petitions, all your life, but get no money out of the Collector's treasury without difficulty. I have now decrees to the amount of four lakhs long standing unrealized. What would you think, gentlemen, of such a Court of Justice, where after all the trouble and expense attending the suit, you cannot get the fruit of your labours. How had it been in the Supreme Court, could the Sheriff delay the proceedings. If he refused or delayed to do his duty I would have my friend, the Sheriff, put into jail. (Laughter.) These observations, gentlemen, are not the result of mere theory: they are the lessons taught by every day's experience. In the Mofussil Courts a distress of property for rent occupies a couple of years. There are no common law or ejectments in the Mofussil, every case must be heard like a regular equity suit. In the meantime should you let the Government revenue fall into arrear, your estate is sold by the tax gatherer without any mercy or consideration. Whether we look to the expenses, the unfair and secret costs, or the delay in the proceedings of the Mofussil Courts, in comparison, the Supreme Court will always be found far better. There is no doubt that the Court of Directors are desirous of exercising absolute and despotic power in this country. I would call your attention to the case of Mr. Courtney Smith, one of the most upright judges the Civil Service ever had. He, it is well known, refused to accept Company's Paper as security in a certain cause, because he conscientiously doubted whether it could afford sufficient and certain guarantee. For this he was threatened with suspension. Even in the times of the Mahomedans a Cazi could not be removed for far greater supposed transgressions ; without conviction he could not be condemned.

Such, gentlemen, is the system pursued under this Government; yet there are some who uphold it. I will let them enjoy those

precious blessings, and thank God that my person is in Calcutta, within the Marhatta Ditch, where my life is secure. (Hear, hear). I have property in the Mofussil which the judges there, if they choose, may take away, but my person they cannot injure. I have seen no reason why natives ought not to support a petition to Parliament on the present occasion.

I have gone over the comparative merits of the Mofussil and the Supreme Courts, and said that the latter is far preferable.

I have pointed out the desire which the Court of Directors have to rule India with absolute power, and that these attempts to infringe upon the rights of the people are in conformity to that wish.

It now only remains for us to give our hearty support to such measures as may be adopted to defend those rights and to preserve us from the threatened despotism. Gentlemen, if I go to give you the particulars of a few cases, and detail how they are decided by the judges who pretend to decide according to justice, equity and good conscience, it will take me some time to finish. But as the business of the night must be got through, I must conclude by seconding the resolution so ably moved by Mr. Turton.

This speech elicited loud applause. It no doubt gave a vivid but faithful portraiture of the Mofussil Courts, and their operations. Those Courts were in his time as bad as bad can be. They were dens of iniquity, instead of temples of even-handed justice. They were marketplaces where decrees were sold to the highest bidder instead of sanctuaries for the protection of the rights of individuals.

Intimately acquainted as he was with the working of the Courts, and smarting as he did for losses sustained by the ignorance of the Judges and the corruption of the Amlah, Dwarkanath boldly and fearlessly denounced them. But we are surprised that with all his sagacity he failed to recognise the justice and wisdom of the principle of the measure he

complained of. That principle is of perfect equality of law as respects the individual offender, equality as respects penalties, and equality as respects the forms of administration and the nature of the tribunals. The exemption of British born subjects from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts in the Mofussil is unconstitutional in itself, unjust in principle, and often oppressive in practice. I have no hesitation in declaring my conviction that such exemption has no constitutional sanction,—and that it is not based on any principle of justice or sound policy. It has never been recognized by the legislature of Great Britain. No man who has attentively read the debates of that assembly, or has looked into the course of legislation during the last forty years, will deny or doubt the fact that it has been the intention of those who have enacted laws for India, that British born residents in the Mofussil should, in criminal matters, be subject to the same law and jurisdiction as those framed for the people at large. It would be a waste of time to go into proofs that the prevailing opinion of the British legislature for many years has been, that while the broad realms of India should be open as a field of honourable adventure and enterprise to persons unconnected with the Services, such persons should be ultimately subject to the laws of Police and criminal jurisdiction, regulating the districts in which they might settle, and that they should enjoy no exclusive privilege by reason of their place of birth or descent. Such persons, since the time of Dwarkanath, have been partially rendered liable to the

jurisdiction of the Mofussil courts. Referring to the improvement of the Mofussil courts and other altered circumstances of the country, I humbly think Her Majesty's subjects within Her Majesty's Indian dominions should, in all cases of criminal prosecution, for whatsoever description of offence, be amenable to the same laws, and be tried by the same tribunals, and that no section of the community should, by reason of place of birth, or religion, or official position, possess any exclusive privilege or supposed advantage, distinguishing them in the eye of the law from the rest of their fellow subjects.

Dwarkanath's unmeasured, but not undeserved, denunciation of the Mofussil Courts naturally "riled" the Mofussil Judges and Magistrates.

Mr. Abercrombie Dick, Judge of Midnapore and Hidjlee, taking up the cudgels on behalf of the Amlah, wrote a long letter to the *Englishman*, dated 1st December 1838, of which the following is an extract :—

Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore, in his speech, gave expression to sentiments that influenced him in supporting the European portion of the community of Bengal, which must be deemed highly creditable and generous. Was, however, his unmeasured reprobation of his own countrymen, without a single fact in substantiation thereof, equally generous ?

You observe, that the opinion of Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore must have great weight, from the information he must naturally possess on the subject. This I would readily admit, if the Baboo had entered into particulars ; his reprobation, however, is in generals, so very good in the field of battle, but are just good for nothing in the field of argument.

To this Dwarkanath replied as follows:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENGLISHMAN.

SIR,

Mr. Abercrombie Dick, having come forward in his own name, and through your columns, put a question to me : I shall immediately give him my reply, a course which I would not have adopted towards an anonymous correspondent. Mr. Dick, after giving me credit for generous and creditable sentiments, asks whether my unmeasured reprobation of my own countrymen, without a single fact in substantiation thereof, is equally generous. I can assure Mr. Dick, that to me it is always a matter of deep concern to cast censures on any individual or public body : and it is still far more painful to me to point out the errors of my countrymen. I trust, however, that I will never permit my own feelings to interfere with the discharge of my public duties, or shrink from that which is irksome when a national object is to be attained. The regeneration of my countrymen is the great object which I have in view, and certain am I, that this can only be achieved, by a candid and fearless exposure to their feelings, exposing the source from which they have originated, and pointing out the remedies best calculated to prove successful. All that I said, in the Town Hall, and which I had stated in a more detailed form before the Police Committee, I am ready to repeat as my deliberate and firm opinions, and if Mr. Dick wishes me to specify what I deem to be the present characteristic failings of natives, I answer that they are—a want of truth, a want of integrity, a want of independence.

These were not the characteristics of former days, before the religion was corrupted and education had disappeared. It is to the Mahomedan conquest that these evils are owing, and they are the invariable results of the loss of liberty and national degradation. The Mahomedans introduced into this country, all the vices of an ignorant, intolerant, and licentious soldiery. The utter destruction of learning and science was an invariable part of their system, and the conquered no longer able to protect their lives by arms and independence, fell into the opposite extremes of abject submission, deceit, and fraud. Such has been the con-

dition of the Natives of Hindustan for several centuries, the lapse of time only increasing the evil, and tending still further to extinguish the little which remained of their former virtues. The first change which was effected was by the conquest of the English, and yet till lately that has done but little ; for instead of introducing among us their laws, their language, and their institutions, as far as practicable, they continued the whole of the Mahomedan Revenue and Judicial system, and even made them more corrupt by means of their *alterations* ! A wiser and more wholesome policy is now being introduced ; education, so long neglected, is rapidly extending its powerful influence, a gulph is no longer placed between the enlightened Englishman and the benighted Native ; they are gradually mingling into one people, and the appointment of my countrymen to posts of confidence is the last stimulant to integrity and independence. This change of system has already begun to work, and while I again repeat that I have justly described the general characteristics of the Natives, and shown that they are but the inevitable results of our national misfortunes, I gladly admit that there are now to be found many honorable and distinguished exceptions, although sorry to find so few of them selected for the higher and more important situations, in the public service ; and sincerely do I believe that the number will increase, if our rulers persevere in the remedies, to which they have at last resorted.

I should have given a more detailed answer to Mr. Dick, especially in regard to the presumed purity of his own Amlah, from the absence of charges of corruption, had not the very able remarks in your editorial furnished a complete reply ; but Mr. Dick must not judge of every Court by his own, for I believe it would be difficult to find another which is so well ordered or skilfully managed.

One mistake I did make at the Town Hall, when I stated that no gentleman of the Civil Service had attended at the Cooly Meeting. It did not occur to me then, that Mr. Patten, the Magistrate at Allipore, by whose exertions and humanity so many hundreds have escaped from slavery, was present during

the whole discussion, and I avail myself of the public opportunity of rectifying my error.

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) DWARKANATH TAGORE.

December 6th, 1838.

Thus we perceive that like the true surgeon Dwarkanath thought that the best and safest way to cure a wound was to probe it to its core. Like the genuine patriot, as he was, he never concealed the faults and vices of his countrymen, but he exposed, and when necessary, expatiated on them with a view to amendment and rectification.

On the 29th September 1837, a meeting convened by the Sheriff was held at the Town Hall, to consider the propriety of addressing Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, on her accession to the throne, and manifesting the loyalty and attachment of Her Majesty's subjects in British India. It was resolved that a dutiful and loyal address from the inhabitants of Calcutta, of all classes, be presented to Her Most Gracious Majesty, congratulating her on her accession to the throne of the British Empire. An address which had been drawn up by Mr. Rattray, Judge of the Sudder Court, was then read by Mr. Theodore Dickens.

Dwarkanath, in seconding the resolution for the adoption of the address, made a short but pertinent speech. He alluded to the absence of the usual number of Natives from the meeting, a cir-

cumstance which he said could only be attributed to the day being a Hindu holiday, for no one could deny that his countrymen entertained a lively sense of gratitude for the benefits that had been the result of British dominion. He next referred to the condition of his country under the Mahommedan régime, and though, he said, there are still grievances existing, life and property are now safe from viceregal authority, so justice in Calcutta at least is equally distributed amongst the people.

As a mark of the high appreciation of his character and conduct by Government, he was appointed the first Justice of the Peace. It was really a high honor at that time, when the fashion had not come into vogue of appointing everybody, who is somebody, and for the matter of that, many a nobody, as Justice of the Peace.

On the 19th April 1835, Dr. Martin addressed a letter to the Governors of the Native Hospital, pointing out the urgent necessity for establishing a Fever Hospital, in a central point of the Native Town of Calcutta, from the constant and universal and frightful prevalence of fever among the native inhabitants, its generally fatal consequences, and the acceleration of the fate of those attacked by it, through the unskilful and mistaken remedies resorted to by the Native Doctors ; to whose aid alone the poorer classes of natives could have recourse ; the relief afforded by the Native Hospital being intended by its constitution to be directed to Surgical cases. The letter being submitted to the Honorable the Deputy Governor of Bengal, His Honor appointed a Com-

nittee to enquire and report on the sanitary condition of Calcutta, and the feasibility of establishing a Fever Hospital. Dwarkanath was placed on this Committee and he cordially co-operated with them. The result of the deliberations of the Committee was the establishment of the Fever Hospital at "Potul Dangah;" Dwarkanath and several other native gentlemen liberally contributed to the erection of the Hospital. Baboo Mati Lall Seal granted the land, and the late Rajah Protap Chandra Singh, the sum of fifty thousand rupees. The foundation was laid with Masonic honours by Lord Dalhousie.

In 1837, Government appointed a Committee for the reform of the Mofussil Police, of which the late Hon'ble W. W. Bird was the chairman. Dwarkanath, in his evidence before this Committee, proposed to ~~create~~ the office of Deputy Magistrate and appoint to it European and native gentlemen of respectability. He says that "to remedy the state of things complained of, Deputy Magistrates should be appointed, either Native, East Indian, or European; and if selected from the two latter denominations, ~~they~~ they should be conversant with the native language, so as not to be dependent on the interpretations of other people, but understand directly the ryots, and when they receive any petition in the vernacular language, that they may read it themselves. They should be taken from the respectable class of people, and not selected merely to increase the salary of those who are at present employed, whether Darogahs, Seristadars, or others, amongst whom a good man might perhaps here and there be found, but

generally speaking they are good for nothing. The appointment of these new Officers should either be made by the Government or the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut. They should be stationed in the interior, and their powers in criminal cases should correspond with those of Moonsiff's, and they should be allowed to exercise jurisdiction over the Thanadars. The present Darogahs should be abolished, and the Thannahs remodelled on the plan of those in Calcutta, the Jamadar or his deputy should personally report, as circumstances render necessary, to the Deputy Magistrate; and if it comes to his knowledge that a quarrel or dispute is likely to take place, he should immediately give information to the Deputy Magistrate. In the districts where there are a great many Europeans resident, it would in my opinion be advisable to employ European Bailiffs, properly qualified, under the Deputy Magistrate, to do the duties of Darogah."

The suggestion regarding the creation of the Office of Deputy Magistrate met with the hearty approval of the Government, and was almost immediately carried into effect. "The first few batches of Deputy Magistrates selected were either cadets of ancient and influential families or distinguished alumni of the Hindu College. After probation as assistants to the Magistrates in the sudder station for two or three years, they were placed in independent charge of Sub-divisions comprising frequently the heaviest Thannahs of the districts. These Sub-divisions were so well managed that not only crime was put down, and lawlessness of every kind curbed by the strong arm of the

law, but their head-quarters became the centres of civilization; schools and dispensaries, libraries and literary societies springing up in all directions; and a new and a healthy tone imparted to the *morale* of the people. Latterly, owing to Dwarkanath's advice being departed from, and an inferior class of persons,—*viz.*, Darogahs and Peshkars, *et hoc genus omne*—being appointed as Deputy Magistrates, the office has sunk in the estimation of the public.

Dwarkanath came into collision with the passions and prejudices of the higher classes of both Europeans and natives, and he erected himself into a buffer and a breakwater between the two races. He was born for action rather than for speculation. But he was not one of that class to whom “abstract thought is repressive, and who always want to be doing something, and to realize the result of their labours before them.” Neither did he belong to the other class, whose speciality is thinking for the sake of exercising and feeding their mental powers, rather than for the practical pursuits of active life. He was more of a Realist than an Idealist. Though not deficient in imagination, yet he was not dreamy but practically-minded. He was very shrewd and observant. He was a thorough man of the world; but unlike most thorough men of the world he was earnest and eager to sympathise with distress. His organization was a commixture of both the thinking and the acting elements. Being thus constituted, his self-possession and social tact, as well as his mental versatility, and his unstinted generosity, and unbounded hospitality, enabled him to acquire

immense influence both amongst Europeans and his own countrymen. It was not an influence merely founded on his position as a merchant and a zemindar, for there were many such who never attained it; it was an influence not founded on the worship of *Sahib logues* and *Hakim logues*, for he neither stopped to cringing nor was himself accessible to adulation, hating toadyism from the bottom of his heart, and mixing with the highest officials on terms of the most perfect equality. It was because there was nothing of the flunkey in his composition, it was because he had a high bearing, considerable self-respect, moral courage, and independence of mind, that he could acquire and retain the influence in question. It was an influence built up in a long course of years and in a transition state of society. It was an influence due to the possession of personal qualities which in their combination is rare. It was an influence seldom misused or misdirected, but always rendered subservient to the good of his country.

With all his suavity of disposition and urbanity of manners, he never hesitated to speak out his mind in an unequivocal manner to his European friends, and to take them to task when he felt it his duty to do so. A young civilian having complained to him that Mr. (after Sir) Frederick Halliday, had been dealing severely with him, Dwarkanath took up the cudgels on his behalf. Addressing Mr. Halliday by his sobriquet, he said, "Well, King Frederick, I am sorry to hear you have been oppressing some youngster of your service." Mr. Halliday

pleaded the exigencies of the Service, but on being remonstrated with, promised to let the said youngster alone.

On another occasion, he expressed his grave displeasure to a well-to-do assistant in his Firm, because of his having failed to assist his mother in England; the assistant promised amendment of conduct, and from that time regularly made remittances to his parent.

Dwarkanath now became a power in the State. Lord Auckland used to consult him on almost all questions bearing on the interests of this country. He was a frequent guest of his Lordship at the Barrackpore Park, and also a constant attendant at the evening Soirees held every Wednesday at the Government House. At one of these re-unions, the question of the Permanent Settlement being mooted, Dwarkanath made a lucid statement of his views which made a profound impression on the distinguished company. He regarded it as a great administrative measure, and said it would prove the salvation of his country.

At this time the advice of Dwarkanath was sought for not only by public authorities but by private gentlemen, and on questions not only of public importance but affecting individual interests. He was not only called upon, as we have seen, to represent his countrymen in Government Committees and Commissions, but became an universal referee to whom all classes of people applied for assistance and solution of their difficulties. He cheerfully and invariably accorded his advice and aid to all, making no distinction of class or

creed. In arbitrating in matters in dispute, he used his persuasive power in toning down opposition, softening asperities, and in effecting reconciliation. And such was the profound respect in which his opinions were held, that in his presence every opposition of sentiment and difference of views were forgotten. His nature, though not exacting; was masterful and it made people think when speaking to him that he must be obeyed. We find Doctor (afterwards Sir) William O'Shaughnessy, the Faraday of India, submitting to him a programme of lectures on Natural Philosophy, and the application of chemistry to the useful arts, to the students of the Hindu College, and soliciting his aid to carry out the plan. The Doctor says: "A lecture room is built at the Hindu College, and I am ready to commence if they will but employ me. I will give three lectures a week on the subjects (Heat, Light, Electricity, &c.,) for Rupees 300 a month, and there is no other College in the world where those subjects are not taught, and there is no country in the world where such knowledge is more valuable than in India. I believe you could best promote this measure by inducing some leading members of the Native Community to join in an address to the Council of Education, setting forth my long services in the cause of Education, and then desire that they should be again made available for the education of the youth of the Hindu College."

This proposal met with the hearty approval of Dwarkanath, but it was only partially carried out by the Managing Committee of the College.

St. Thomas's Church being in want of a clock

application was made to Dwarkanath for one. He immediately and cheerfully complied with it. The Most Reverend the Archbishop Carew, the head of the Roman Catholic Clergy in India, writes to him the following interesting letter with reference to his promised gift, as also to his efforts for the promotion of Female Education :

I am fully of opinion that until the Native Community duly appreciate the importance of giving their female children a respectable and useful education, your efforts, however noble or generous, would be unavailable in their regards. It will, I am sure, give you pleasure to hear that there is every prospect of the "Loretto Ladies" being engaged in the freely charitable office of taking care of the female sick in the Medical College Hospital. In this new office, I have great hopes that they will gain the respect and love of many of the native females who resort there for relief. In this way I trust, also, that a favorable disposition may be gradually created in the Native Community, which at a future day will render your efforts on behalf of native female education eminently successful. I profit by this occasion to assure you, that with respect to the clock you have so kindly and generously promised for St. Thomas's Church, it is my wish that you should not exceed in any respect that standard which your own sound judgment will deem to be the just one for regulating the price of such an article.

I have alluded to the hospitality of Dwarkanath as a conspicuous trait of his character. It was indeed as unstinted as his benevolence to which it is so closely allied was unbounded.

The chief scene of his hospitality, the spot where it was exercised on a regal scale, was the Belgatchiah Villa, which he had laid out with exquisite taste. The Mutty jheel meandering through the entire length of the garden was a great attraction. It sparkled

with the *Nilumbium Speciosum*, the favourite *Padma* of the Hindu poet, *Nymphia rubra*, and other water lilies. The lawn spread in all directions, and in February and March blazed with beds of *Petunias* and *Pinks*, *Phloxes* and *Sarkspurs*, *Roses* and *Zinnias*. The *Boytuckhanah* is of noble proportion, and was furnished in a style not common in those days. The walls of the gallery were hung with masterpieces of modern art ; the owner being no mean judge of pictures and statuary. On the back of the *Boytuckhanah* there glittered a marble fountain surmounted by a *Cupid*. The summer house situated on an island in the centre of the *Mutty jheel*, and connected with the garden proper, both by an iron suspension bridge and a light wooden bridge, was a pavilion of pleasure. Though situated in the eastern suburbs, the *Belgatchiah Villa* became the West End, the *Kensington* of *Calcutta*. Here *Dwarkanath* gave entertainments, which were considered rich and rare treats. The *Cuisine* was unsurpassed, and the company unique in the quality and classes of guests. The *Menu* consisted of an infinity of French and oriental dishes, among which the *kabob*, the *pilow* and the *hossainee* curry were not the least appreciated. The wines were directly imported from Europe, and were of the choicest vintage.

The *Lucullian* cookery attracted the *epicures* and *gourmands* of the metropolis, but they were not the only guests in the *Villa*. There were members of Council and Judges of the *Supreme Court*. There were *Generals of Divisions* and *Zemindars of Pergu-*

nahs. There were fossil Civilians and *blase* military men hobnobbing with unfledged Assistant Magistrates, raw Ensigns, briefless Barristers, and Bengalee Baboos fresh from the Hindu College. There were among the guests old men and young men, grave men and witty men, men who had known and studied the country and men who could hardly distinguish between a cooly and a ferocious Dooly, men who could discourse learnedly on the constitution of the Government of India, and men who could "sparkle with anecdote, or blaze with reparté." Among the habitués of the Villa may be mentioned the dashing Captain Taylor and the witty Patrick, the reckless Joychand Paul Chowdry, and the fearless Rajkissen Roy Chowdry, the calm and collected Cullen, and the catholic-minded Kallynath Moonshee, the judicial Prosonno Coomar and the impulsive Duckhinahrunjun, the accomplished William Prinsep, and the versatile Parker, the strong-willed Dampier, and the strong-minded Maddocks.

In truth, the Belgatchia Villa was the rendezvous of almost all persons of distinction and talent, constituting a circle "numerous without confusion, modest without constraint, learned without pride, and polished without affectation." It was the only private Garden House, the only place, in fact, where Europeans of different classes, as well as native gentlemen, met and mixed freely and cordially.

It was a pleasant Capua where newly married couples passed their honeymoon, and exhausted men of business resorted to while away a week and recruit their energies.

These reunions, therefore, contributed more

effectually to the fusion of the races than anything of the kind done before or after ; linking the European to the Hindu, and resulting in intimate acquaintanceship and harmonious fellowship. The Civilian forgot his hauteur, the Colonel his pipe-clay, and the Zemindar his old-world prejudices. This attrition of mind contributed to a more correct knowledge and appreciation of each other than any formal "at Homes" or receptions could do.

Dwarkanath was a person of singularly attractive presence. The charm of his manner, his courtesy and his kindness, always created in his guests some pleasant recollection and some touch of sympathy which gained him an amount of goodwill and friendship which it was the lot of few men to enjoy.

In connection with the Villa, we may mention a grand ball and supper given by Dwarkanath to the Honorable Miss Eden, the then head of society. It was a sumptuous festival worthy of the host and the guest. The rooms were a blaze of light and radiant with mirrors, and Mirzapore carpets, and crimson damask and green silk. The marble-top tables were bright with bouquets. A profusion of rare orchids, ornamental shrubs, and foliage plants were displayed on the steps of the portico, the verandah, the saloon, and the central hall. The summer-house and the suspension bridge were festooned with flowers, creepers, and deodar leaves and variegated flags. The grounds and water-works were illuminated by thousands of ornamental lamps, and the *tout ensemble* was described by a contemporary writer as "a fairy scene." The Hall was reso-

nant with music, and dancing was kept up till the small hours. The display of fireworks was the most magnificent ever witnessed here, the *élite* of Calcutta was present, and the whole affair went off with unusual *éclat*.

This party, viewed in its highest aspect, may be regarded as an event in the social history of the country. It affords abundant evidence of what Dwarkanath did to break down the barrier separating the Hindu and the Englishman, "the old world of the strong arm from the new world of the strong mind."

We sadly want a Dwarkanath to serve as a link of cohesion between the European and the Native. The obstructions to a fusion of the two races are partly religious, political, social, and domestic. The religious obstructions are melting away under the effects of education. The other classes of obstructions can be removed by the influence of men who, understanding both the races, will stand forth as the interpreters of their wishes and sentiments.

It was at the end of 1841 that the idea of visiting Europe dawned on the mind of Dwarkanath, and he carried it into effect at the commencement of the following year. Moved by an enlightened curiosity, and stimulated by an earnest desire to expand his mind by a survey of the most civilized countries and study of the most enlightened peoples in the world, he determined to defy the prejudices of his age and country, and to cross the "*kalla panee*."

On the eve of his departure, the *Friend of India*, although differing from him on the Land Resumption

and other questions, paid the following well-merited tribute to his public virtues:—

“To describe Dwarkanath’s public charities would be to enumerate every charitable institution in Calcutta, for from which of them has he withheld his most liberal donations? So constant and universal indeed has been his liberality that his gift of a lakh of rupees (ten thousand pounds sterling) to the District Charitable Society in Calcutta, did not excite an astonishment proportionate to its magnitude, only because it was deemed so natural in Dwarkanath to give, and to give largely. Nor must we forget that he has taken the lead in every institution, those of Christian Missions perhaps excepted, which has been established, with a view to the improvement of the country; that he has been foremost in promoting education, and more especially in fostering the Medical College, by the bestowal of prizes on the most successful students. He has not only therefore given largely, but wisely.”

Mr. Marshman, the Editor of the *Friend of India*, wrote a letter to Dwarkanath, expressing his personal regret at his inability to wait on him before his departure, owing to the writer’s multifarious avocations as a public journalist, and expressing his conviction that the visit of his correspondent to Europe would be productive of the happiest results.

Dwarkanath met with a still more flattering appreciation of his merits from the public of Calcutta.

On the 6th of January 1842, an influential meeting of the European and Native community was held at the Town Hall, for the purpose of offering some testimonial of their esteem and regard for the subject of our memoir. The Sheriff presided on the occasion. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Turton, the

leading Barrister of the time, moved the first Resolution, which is as follows :—

That the following address, &c., be presented to Dwarkanath Tagore, expressive of our cordial esteem for his public and private character, and our admiration of the liberal course which he has uniformly pursued for the improvement and amelioration of his countrymen, and his promotion and support of all institutions which have been proposed for that object, and our request that he will sit for his picture when in England, to be placed in the Town Hall.

In support of the address, Mr. Turton made a telling and eloquent speech which produced a great impression. Mr. Mansel, c.s., Deputy Accountant-General, in seconding the Resolution, claimed the character of Dwarkanath as the property not of Calcutta, of Bengal, but of British India; and spoke of it as widely known and esteemed throughout the country.

The following extracts from the address voted by the meeting will be interesting :—

“ We rejoice that, in you, our British fellow-subjects will see one who is calculated to raise the estimate which some in England may heretofore have been disposed to entertain of the native gentlemen in India.

“ Your unwearied benevolence, your upright conduct as a man in all the relations of life, claim and have received the meed of public admiration in Calcutta, of which we trust the voice will be re-echoed in England.

“ In every good work of charity, without reference to caste, to color, or to creed, you have set a very splendid example of liberality to your countrymen, and your purse has ever been as freely opened to promote objects more peculiarly affecting the feelings or pursuits of Europeans, as to support the noble institutions which philanthropy suggested.”

Among the speakers at the meeting, Mr. Henry Meredith Parker, Member of the Sudder Board, and Mr. Longueville Clarke, of the Calcutta Bar, bore their emphatic testimony to Dwarkanath's many claims to the esteem and gratitude of the people of India. The meeting was a great success. It formed a new era in the political history of the country. Comprising all classes of society, representing the whole community, and speaking the public voice, it was a gathering of great significance. It was a cordial and crowning acknowledgment of the inestimable benefits conferred by Dwarkanath on his country. The demonstration was creditable both to the European element which predominated in the meeting, as well as to the man whom it sought to do honor. It conclusively showed that the leaders of the European society cherished sentiments which were not behind the obligations which their position in this country imposes on them, and were not withheld from giving expression to them, because the object of their admiration was a Hindu. It also taught the natives that public spirit, whether emanating from a Hindu or a Christian, an Asiatic or a European, will be rewarded with the full measure of public approbation.

The address voted at the meeting was presented by a deputation to Dwarkanath on the 8th January 1842. The following is his reply:—

GENTLEMEN,—This is a proud moment for me and for my country; it is the first time that a native of India has ever received such a testimony of regard from the inhabitants of our Eastern metropolis. The main object of my life has been to improve my native land. I viewed, as the best means of effecting this great object, the charitable institutions and social habits of Great Britain. The

initiative efforts had already been made by others, and particularly by my lamented friend, the late Rammohun Roy. Knowing how imperfect my endeavours have been, I feel conscious that your approbation is rather applicable to the attempt than to any success which is fairly ascribable to me. The good work however has commenced, to whomsoever be the praise, and my hopes are high for the result. Proud am I, indeed, that my motives and conduct should have been so appreciated and rewarded by my fellow-citizens, both of England and of India. The expression of your sentiments is doubly grateful to me, for, while it is a matter of the highest congratulation to me, it is not less so to my countrymen. It proves to them and to the world at large, how closely the landholders of England and India are united in feelings and in interests, when the humble efforts of a Hindu are thus rewarded by the united approbation of the British community as well as by his own beloved brethren of his native land. Most heartily do I thank you, Gentlemen, for the honor you have conferred, and the flattering terms in which it has been expressed. The little which I have been enabled to do, if not aided by your kind and friendly feeling, would not have entitled me to the flattering distinction of my likeness being placed in the Hall of your city. But I will cheerfully accept of the proud distinction, in the hope that it may stimulate others of my countrymen to follow in a course which you have thus so generously rewarded.

The hope here expressed by Dwarkanath that his example would be followed by his countrymen, has in a manner been realized, for several enlightened native gentlemen have since been and are striving to tread in the footsteps of their distinguished countryman.

On the 9th January, Dwarkanath left home, taking leave of all his family, and went on board the *India*. He was accompanied on board by his brother Baboo Ramanath Tagore, Baboo Radha Pershad Roy, the eldest son of Rammohun Roy, and several Fa-

ropean friends. On the 10th, the steamer left Cooly Lazar, and anchored at Culpee in the evening. On the 11th January, she arrived at the Sandheads, where the steamer *Dwarkanath* took back to Calcutta the friends who had accompanied him.

Among his fellow-passengers were his friends Sir Edward Ryan, Messrs. Parker and Walker, and the Roman Catholic Archbishop Carew, as well as four Italians, two French gentlemen, several Civilians and tradesmen. His own party consisted of his medical attendant, Dr. MacGowan, his nephew, Chunder Mohun Chatterjee, his aide-de-camp, Purnanund Moitra, three Hindu servants, and one Mahomedan khansamah. The last was a capital cook, and his *pillaws* and curry were greatly prized by the London gourmands, who used to call them the "Dwarkanath dishes." Nay, it is said that this man taught the *Chef-de-cuisine* in several English households the art of making curries.

Dwarkanath has left a Diary of his voyage to Europe, from which I shall not hesitate to glean such details as may be interesting.

On the 15th January, the vessel arrived at Madras, and stopped till the evening of the 16th to receive coal.

On the 18th January, Dwarkanath saw the Island of Ceylon, and admired the scenery, especially the forest of cocoanut-trees growing down to the water's edge, and waving their feathery foliage. He was also struck with the exceeding beauty of the flowers. Of the people and the Bhudhist religion he makes no mention; having had no time for such investigations.

and being more of a practically-minded than an archeologically-minded man.

He mentions the red-fish of Ceylon "large like *kuthla*." He makes the following remarks on Adam's Peak:—

"There is a high mountain which they call Adam's Peak, believed by the people that Adam first made his appearance here. His foot, of which there is a mark on the rock, measures 20 feet. The natives say that Hunnooman put his one foot there, and the other foot at Madras. This corresponds with our Ramayan. There are several places on the Island, Rabunpoory, &c. Some of the mountains are as high as 1,000 feet. We saw about hundreds of tortoises in the sea like small elephants."

On the 11th of February, the *India* arrived at Suez. Dwarkanath and party left her, and were put up at Hill's Hotel, which is described as a most miserable place. On the following day, they engaged four vans which took them through the desert, of which the mirage is described as the "most beautiful sight." Dwarkanath describes his passage through the desert as "much easier than all my journey to Gya by road, and much better than the Dum-Dum road to my garden." On the 14th of February, he arrived at Cairo; strings of camels, processions of veiled women carrying water-jars, and herds of Arabs and Turks riding on donkeys, and munching sugar-cane, presented an essentially oriental spectacle. He was struck with mingled feelings of awe and admiration by the sight of the everlasting pyramids. The bazars, squares, and ranges of houses are likened by him to the Burrabazar and houses of Calcutta and Benares. On the 24th of February, he left Cairo in a small

steamer, the *Incklornthorn*. Cruising through the Nile, he describes it as "a fine river, half the size of the Ganges," and "its water very pure." On the 25th February, he arrived at Alexandria, which is described as resembling an European city, "with fine hotels and a fine view of the Mediterranean Sea." It is, in truth, more a cosmopolitan than an European city, and its population is the most heterogeneous in the world. On the 1st of April, he arrived at Malta, and was put up at Dunsford's Royal Hotel. He saw Sir Henry Bouverie, Governor of Malta, and he was very much pleased with the decoration of the Government House. He describes it as "a fine large building," the walls being decorated "with the paintings of all the great masters." On the 11th of April, he left Malta, embarking on an English steamer, the *Polyphemus*, for the purpose of visiting Italy. He experienced very boisterous weather until his arrival at Messina. On his passage, Dwarkanath saw Mount Etna and the Island of Sicily, which he notices as "a most fertile country." He next saw the volcanic Island of Stromboli "smoking and blazing." On the 14th, he arrived at Naples. The first view of the Bay impressed him as a beautiful prospect. The Mount Vesuvius, as seen from every part of the city, is noticed by him as "a beautiful sight to a stranger." He describes "Toledo" as the principal street, lined with gay and gaudy shops, and studded with theatres and palaces. He left Naples for Rome on the 21st April. He condemns the road "as up hill and down dale;" but he admires the scenery pro-

sented by flowering and sweet smelling shrubs growing along the sides. On the 23rd he arrived at Rome. The endless ceremonies performed by the Bishop and Cardinals at St. Peter's Church struck him as "similar to Hindu poojahs in almost everything." Writing to a friend in Calcutta, he thus speaks of Rome:—

Description can convey but very faint ideas of its beauty. Everything is on a grand scale, and St. John's Church, with which I was so pleased at Malta, and also those at Naples, sink into insignificance when compared with St. Peter's, which in size alone would contain about twenty of them, and is far superior in elegance and decoration. One might visit it daily, and always find something new and pleasing to admire; so are the museum, the library, the ruins, statues, paintings, fountains. No doubt, Rome stands peerless as far as beauty and grandeur are concerned.

Dwarkanath was impressed, but in a different manner, with the Colosseum, that once "resounded with the shouts and groans of thousands."

Dwarkanath was presented to the Pope by the Principal of the English College. His Holiness received him very graciously. Dwarkanath apologised to the Pope for not taking off his pugree or turban, as putting it on was in his country the usual demonstration of respect paid by the visitor. In the evening he went to a party at Colonel Caldwell's, and met there Prince Frederick of Prussia, and Mrs. Somerville, the astronomer. Italy interested him, not only as the nursery of civilization, but a land of marvellous beauty, natural and artificial, studded with parks and pleasantries, and enamelled with roses and honeysuckles, jessamines and myrtles. The softening spell of the languishing climate reminded him of the

mild winter of his country. The place of note next noticed in the diary is Florence. The cathedral there is described as a very large and lofty building, but "nothing like St. Peter's." In the room called Tribunes, his eyes feasted on the original statue of Venus de Medici, the like of which, as he says, is not to be found anywhere else. Right well has this masterwork of art been described by a recent writer as "humbling every other beauty but its own." He saw some "mosaic tables which cost one lakh and a half each." He then contrasts the outward with the inward condition of Tuscany. "In Tuscany, the very cottages are neat and ornamental, and there is, in the dress and the appearance of the peasantry, a taste for comforts, which will never be found where the peasantry is in a state of hopeless vassalage." On his arrival at Venice, he notices the grand canal as the great highway of the city. The houses built on the front of the canal appeared to him as growing, as it were, out of the water. In the gallery he saw the portraits of the Doges by Titian, and other pictures, commemorating the achievements and glory of the Venetian Republic. He left Venice on the 16th May for Trent. On his way he had first a glimpse, and then a full view, of the Alps. The country appeared to him an entire garden, richly cultivated with vine and other crops. He next travelled through Germany, halting at Stuttgart, Heildelburg, and other places. This part of the German territory appeared to him very fertile, the avenues on the roadside being cultivated with different kinds of fruit-trees, viz., apples, pears, cherries, walnuts,

chestnuts, &c. Referring to the intellectual condition of the people, he says:—"The progress of education is very great in Germany, and what a great contrast with Italy, where no one can speak another language but Italian; here all the higher class of people could speak French, and many English. Not a boy or girl we met with was without a book in his or her hands, and there were no beggars in any town. The King of Bavaria is a very learned man, and in his territory not a village without a school, which the poor and the rich must attend; the former pay ~~nothing~~, the latter a small contribution. The whole of the country is filled with fountains and water for drinking." On the 31st May, he arrived at Frankfort, which he dismisses with a brief description of theatrical amusements. At Frankfort he took the railway, and was whisked to Maynes. He describes this place as the port of the Rhine, and a sort of neutral frontier, protected by the joint forces of Prussia and Austria. He crossed the Rhine here by a bridge of boats, and then embarked on board a steamer, proceeding to Cologne. He admires the cathedral of Cologne, but complains of the heat of the weather, and suggests the institution of punkias. From Cologne he proceeded by railway to Aix-la-Chapelle, which he notices as the birthplace and the last resting-place, the Mecca and the Medina, so to speak, of Charlemagne. He next halted at Brussels, and then at Ostend, whence he proceeded by post to Calais, where he had the pleasure of seeing his friends, Mr. John Carr and Mr. Brown Roberts, who had come to meet him. On the

morning of the 9th June, he left Calais, and in three hours crossed the British Channel, and arrived at Dover.

The first object that arrested his attention when he trod the British soil was the castle, but he did not tarry at Dover, but proceeded to Canterbury. The cathedral there is described "as very magnificent," as also the monuments of the Black Prince and Thomas à Becket. He then passed through Chatham and Rochester. He describes this part of the country as hilly, and in "beautiful cultivation," and dotted over with parks and ~~villas~~ ^{glades}. On the 10th June, he arrived in London, the modern Babylon, the capital of his rulers, the focus of wealth and enterprise, of learning and science, of beauty and fashion, the spot which he had so long heard of and dreamt of, and which he had so longed to see.

In describing the voyage of Dwarkanath, I have quoted freely and frequently from his Diary, because it contains the genuine impressions regarding European countries of the first Hindu gentleman travelling by the overland route, soon after its establishment, for his own pleasure and the gratification of his own curiosity.

You will have seen how he walked the waters of the Bhárat Samudra ; how he surveyed the classic Island of Lanká (Ceylon), the fabled abode of the man-eating Rákshasas, the anthropophagi of the Ramayan, and the scene of the great war between Ráma and Ravana, so graphically described by Válmiki ; how he passed along the sandy shores which poured forth the followers of Mahomet for the subjugation of Eu-

rope and India ; how he ascended the Nile, and was awe-struck with the pyramids, defying the destroying hand of Time, and other monuments of a departed monarchy and an older civilization ; how next he was interested in Rome, the mother of European civilization and the temple of art ; how in Germany he recognized the land of Pándits—of men who, like our Brahmins of old, loved to speculate on the mysteries of free-will and necessity, of death and eternity ; and how at last he reached his destination, and was agreeably surprised to find that London was the most wonderful city in the world.

On his arrival in London, Dwarkanath and his suite were put up at St. George's Hotel, Albemarle Street. On the day following his arrival, he went to the Chiswick Garden Horticultural *fête*, where he found eighteen hundred elegantly-dressed persons. The display of flowers and fruits was very fair. On Sunday, the 12th June, he presented his letters of introduction to Sir Robert Peel and other distinguished persons. He next waited on Lord Fitzgerald, the President of the Board of Control, who received him very cordially, and extended to him the right hand of fellowship. He also met with a distinguished reception from Sir Robert Peel, Lord Brougham, and the Marquis of Lansdowne.

Proceeding to the business part of London, he states :—

" In passing from the Strand to the City, the first striking object is Temple Bar. The crowds of the city people and the number of shops are great in the extreme. Except Coutts', the mercantile establishments are very small."

From the counter of Coutts and Co., we are taken to a different scene, namely, a dinner party at Lansdowne House, which is described as "a most beautiful place," containing statues and pictures, and the Marquis and Marchioness are "very kind and hospitable people."

In the days of Dwarkanath Tagore, the Home Government of India consisted of three bodies ; the Court of Proprietors, the Court of Directors, and the Board of Control. The first-named body, comprising, as it did, every holder of East India stock, used to hold quarterly meetings, at which the members discussed questions relative to the affairs of this country. The speakers were generally divided into two parties, namely, the independent members representing the opposition, and the official members representing the Court. It was therefore no wonder that the meetings were frequently stormy. Dwarkanath was present at one of these meetings, and heard an animated debate on the cooly question, *i. e.*, the emigration of Indian laborers to Mauritius.

On the evening of the day of the meeting, the Court of Directors entertained Dwarkanath at a public dinner at the London Tavern. It was on the 22nd June that the ruling Indian power in London thus honored a distinguished subject of India.

He soon after visited both Houses of Parliament. Among the distinguished noblemen and gentlemen whom he cultivated, were Lord Brougham, Mr. Babbage, Lord Palmerston, and Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst. With Lord Brougham he used to have frequent conversations on subjects relative to India ; and in

compliance with His Lordship's invitation, he attended the annual dinner given by the Society for the Diffusion of General Knowledge. Of Lord Palmerston he gives a very brief but faithful portraiture:—"Lord Palmerston is a pleasant, good-natured man, with peculiarly easy manners." There is no doubt that the *bonhomie* of the English nobleman made a deep impression on the susceptible Hindu zemindar. At a burrakhanah given by Lord Lyndhurst to Dwarkanath, the latter remarks in his Diary that he was exceedingly charmed with the "agreeable manners and conversation of His Lordship."

On the 16th June, Dwarkanath had the honor of being presented to Her Majesty. Lord Fitzgerald took Dwarkanath to the Drawing Room, conducting him through the private entrance. His Lordship introduced him first to the Duke of Wellington, and then to the ambassadors. At about 2 o'clock, he was presented to Her Majesty the Queen, and then to the Prince Consort. He had also the honor of being presented to the Duchess of Kent. The royal personages received him graciously.

In writing to his son, Baboo Debendranath Tagore, he thus speaks of London and of the reception he met with there:—

"After seeing everything on the Continent, I did not expect that I should be so much taken by this little island; but really London is the *wonderful city*; the bustling of the city, the carriages, the shops, and the people, quite bewildered me. From 8 A.M. till 12 at night, I am engaged either in receiving or returning visits and invitations. Two days after my arrival, I had a very gracious reception by Her Majesty. All the royal

family and the principal nobility have made my acquaintance, and the present as well as the late ministers have shown me every attention. If a man has wealth, this is the country to enjoy it in. I was at Westminster Abbey this afternoon. The solemnity of the sermon and prayers, with the singing and organ, was much imposing. I have seen some noblemen's gardens ; you may write anything you like about my garden now ; I have completely given it up. I cannot write you more by this mail, but hope for more leisure for the next, and then I may do some justice to London.

On the 23rd June, he attended a grand review of the troops by an especial invitation of the Queen. Her Majesty, Prince Albert, the Duke of Wellington, and Her Majesty's uncle, the Duke of Cambridge, were present. They graciously invited him to their circle, and the evolutions of the forces engaged in the mock fight were explained to him.

At about this time, Dwarkanath and his suite removed from St. George's Hotel to the house of the mother of Mr. William Prinsep, at Great Cumberland Street, Hyde Park, which had been placed at his disposal. Soon after his removal, he received a command from the Queen to dine at Buckingham Palace. Besides Her Majesty and Prince Albert, there were present at the royal party, Prince and Princess of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, Earl of Liverpool, Lord Fitzgerald, Cooper, Bart., and Baron de Brandestine. Her Majesty and the Prince Consort entered into an interesting conversation with Dwarkanath, of which the themes were chiefly Indian. He then played a game at whist with the Duchess of Kent. Her Majesty presented him with three new pieces of golden coin which had been minted that day.

On a subsequent occasion, Dwarkanath received an invitation from Her Majesty to pay a visit to the Royal Nursery. The Lady Lyttleton brought out the Princess and the Prince of Wales. They were dressed in plain muslin, studded with pearls. They were not frightened by the appearance of the Hindu, but at the request of Her Ladyship shook hands with him, and bade him good-bye on his departure.

From the Nursery of the Palace, he went to the study of a literary man, *viz.*, Mr. Lockhart, who, I believe, was then editing the *Quarterly Review*. Mr. Lockhart is thus described in the Diary:—"He himself is a very agreeable man. He imparts his valuable information in the most unpretending way. He gave me many valuable hints about books, and presented me with his 'Life of Burns', and that of his father-in-law, Sir Walter Scott. Altogether I was charmed with my acquaintance."

We thus see how the intense social tact of Dwarkanath brought him into intimate and familiar contact with the highest and most aristocratic society in the world. In truth, Dwarkanath had a consummate knowledge of society, and an instinctive appreciation of the temper of those with whom he mixed. It is therefore small wonder that English noblemen and gentlemen, men distinguished in the walks of literature and science, men holding the most conspicuous position in the political and the legal world, sought his acquaintance, and delighted to honor him. He verified the language of the Bible—"A man's gifts maketh room for him, and bringeth him before great men."

Dwarkanath was not content to be thus lionised only, but he visited the principal institutions of England, and evinced an intelligent interest in their operations.

At Printing House Square, he was agreeably surprised when he saw twenty thousand copies of the *Times* newspaper being struck off in a couple of hours. At the Post Office, he inspected every department under the pilotage of Lord Lowther, the Post Master General ; but what struck him most was the fact of two hundred thousand newspapers and letters being sorted and despatched within two hours. When he visited the Bank of England, he was equally and agreeably surprised with the magnitude of its operations, and the mode in which they were carried out ; such as printing the bank notes by steam, and the payments of the same.

Among the houses of the nobility which he visited, Stafford House, the residence of the Duchess of Sutherland, appeared to him as one of the most magnificent. Overlooking St. James's Park on the one side, and the Green Park on the other, it is described in the Diary as very happily situated. Consisting of three stories, which are all reached by the same staircase, supported on pillars, and running up to the top terrace ; the ground floor is filled with pictures and statues, while the second and third floors are gilded with gold, and covered with silk. The furnitures are described as richer and more handsome than those of Buckingham Palace. Among the private parks and villas which he visited, the Duke of Devonshire's grounds at Chatsworth

struck him as exceedingly beautiful. The conservatory filled with rare exotics, and the collection of tropical trees and shrubs, afforded him great gratification. It was after his visit to Chatsworth that he wrote out to India to express his regret that his own *Belgatchia Villa* was nothing compared to it. It is a thousand pities that Dwarkanath did not live to see Chatsworth laid out subsequently with unrivalled taste by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Joseph Paxton.

Of the parks and promenades which he frequented, Hyde Park, Regent's Park, and the Kensington Gardens are described as "very fine."

The fruits of England suited his taste, as the following entry in his Diary will show :—"The fruits of this country are very good—in fact, better than I fancied. The strawberries are very nice, especially with cream and sugar ; the cherries are likewise good, but gooseberries I have no fancy for, and do not like. Currants are too sour, and not good ; plums are also good, as also peaches and nectarines, but I prefer the former." His estimate of the vegetables of England was not quite so favorable as that of fruits. During the morning visit, which he, accompanied by Robert Barlow, paid to Covent Garden Market, he found the vegetables exhibited "were not near so fine as those shown at the Town Hall," referring to the periodical exhibitions held by the Agri-horticultural Society of Bengal :—"The quantity is certainly greater. I will here enumerate the vegetables : potatoes, peas, beans, both French and large, cauliflowers, greens, cabbages, chillies,

which were indeed the finest I ever saw ; carrots, turnips, asparagus, artichokes, both of Jerusalem and English kind." •

The following description of a Greenwich dinner of which Dwarkanath partook on the 20th June, may possibly interest the fish-loving gourmands of Hindu society :— " Went to Hungerford (pier), whence I went by steamer to Greenwich, and dined at the ' Ship,' with the Parkers and the Hodels, and my own party, altogether eleven in number, and we had such a fish dinner. The first course we had on table were fried eels, eels à la Toulouse, fried flounders, boiled fresh trout, stewed eels, eel cutlets. The second course was composed merely of water sucker—I think that is the name—which is a tasteless dish. Third course was whitebait, the very thing which I came to dine upon, and they were very good. Fourth course, boiled and roasted fowls, a tongue, lobster cutlets, a curry, not good; and for vegetables, we had peas, beans, and potatoes. Fifth course, whitebait, fried this time. Sixth course, seed puddings, tartlets, currant and cherry tarts, and a couple of ornamental puddings, jelly and blanc mangé, after which came cheese and dessert of all kinds of fruits."

In his record of the visit he paid to the Zoological Gardens, he notices the fact that the animals are chiefly imported from India and other Eastern countries. The avenues struck him as very pretty, and the arrangements for keeping aquatic game so good as to be deserving of imitation in India.

During his sojourn in England, the Annual Dinner of the Lord Mayor came off. He was in-

vited to partake of the turtle soup and other good cheer, peculiarly and proverbially aldermanic. Amongst other distinguished guests there were the Duke of Cambridge, the Duke of Buccleugh, and several of the ministers. About a hundred and eighty-seven people sat to dinner. The Lord Mayor proposed the health of Dwarkanath Tagore in the following words:—"The high character and great attainments of my friend on my right render him an ornament to society. The great kindness he has always shown to our countrymen in India entitles him to the gratitude of every British subject."

Dwarkanath acknowledged this toast in an appropriate and impressive speech which lasted for half an hour, and which was highly praised by the then Duke of Cambridge. In the course of it he said:—"But if he felt as he ought the distinction and friendship with which he had been treated, what must his country, which had been saved from utter destruction by the national friendship and humanity of England, feel upon looking to the glorious result? (*cheers*). It was England who sent out Clive and Cornwallis to benefit India by their counsels and arms. It was England that sent out to that distant nation the great man who had succeeded in establishing peace in the world, and who was the first who introduced a proper and paramount order of things in the East. It was the country which the company he addressed represented that, to the honour of human nature, protected his countrymen from the tyranny and villany of the Mahometans, and the no less frightful oppression of the Russians."

On the 21st July, Dwarkanath left London for the purpose of visiting the manufacturing districts in the north of England and Scotland. At Sheffield, the centre of Iron Manufactures, he visited the establishments of Rogers the cutler, and witnessed with delight the effects of that division of labor which contributes so much to multiply and perfect its products. He had a piece of iron moulded into a blade in one stall, he took it to another stall where it was ground, then to a third stall where it was sharpened, and then to a fourth where it was polished. In the show rooms he found a knife with eighteen hundred and forty-one blades, another of one hundred and forty-five, and a third of seventy-five blades. He purchased one of these many-bladed knives with a pencil at one end. At York he visited the Cathedral, or, as it is called there, the Minster, which he describes as one of the largest in the world; "five hundred and seventy-five feet long, three hundred feet broad, and two hundred and thirty feet high."

At Newcastle, he was much interested in the working of the coal mines. Having been the founder of what is now the largest coal mine in Bengal, it is not to be wondered at that he should enter in his Diary into a minute description of what he saw in the great coal district, the Raneegunge of England; but it will not interest the general reader.

At Smeaton, he attended the Kirk. He found a great difference between the Scotch and English services: "Thinking one sermon," says he, "quite sufficient, I came away after the first, which was more of a lecture than of a sermon."

At the end of August, Dwarkanath arrived in Edinburgh. On the day following his arrival, he was admitted by the Town Council of the city of Edinburgh as a Burgess and Guild Brother.

In Edinburgh, the 23rd day of August, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-two, on which day the Right Hon'ble Sir James Forrest of Comeston, Bart., Lord Provost ; John Richardson, David Jugurtha Thomson, William Thomson, and Andrew Wilkie, Esquires, Bailies ; John Ramsay, Esquire, Dean of Guild ; Sir William Drysdale of Pittenchar, Knight, Treasurer ; and the other Members of the Town Council of the City in Council assembled, admitted and received, and do hereby admit and receive Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore of Calcutta, Burgess and Guild Brother of this City, as a mark of their esteem for his character as a Native Merchant in our Indian Empire.

Extracted from the records of the City by Carlyle Bell, Contingent Clerk.

On the 1st September, Dwarkanath was awakened by the booming of the guns announcing the arrival of the Queen at her northern capital. On the following evening, Edinburgh was illuminated in honor of Her Majesty. There was also a display of fireworks, the general effect of which was, however, marred by inclement weather. On the 3rd, Her Majesty the Queen received the keys of the Town, and proceeded in procession to the Castle, on the ramparts of which she took her stand. Her Majesty then drove towards Dalmany Park, where Dwarkanath tendered her his homage, and had the honor of receiving from her a kind welcome.

On the 5th September, the Unitarian Association of Edinburgh presented Dwarkanath with an address.

On the 8th September, the Committee of the Edinburgh Emigration and Aborigines Protection Society presented Dwarkanath with the following Address:—

Address of the Committee of the Edinburgh Emigration and Aborigines Protection Society.

TO DWARKANATH TAGORE, *Zemindar of Calcutta.*

RESPECTED FELLOW-CITIZEN AND SIR,—You see before you the Committee of a Society, originally organized to promote the extinction of Negro Slavery in the West Indies, and still engaged in efforts for the overthrow of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.

For several years the Edinburgh Society has devoted a portion of its attention to the claims of our fellow-subjects, the Natives of your country. In doing this, we have been actuated by a sincere desire to aid in all well-directed endeavours to improve the social condition of the many millions in the East, brought under British rule, and to obtain for your brethren the advantages guaranteed, but not yet bestowed, by the Charter Act of 1833.

As the friends and advocates of personal freedom, we have from time to time considered the nature, extent, and peculiarities of slavery, as it exists under various forms in our Indian Possessions; and in connection with this branch of the subject, the practicability of superseding the use of slave-grown produce from other countries, by the extension and encouragement of free agricultural pursuits throughout British India.

We have, on several occasions, exerted ourselves to prevent the natives of India from becoming the victims of deception and fraud, under the operation of what is known to us by the name of the Hill Coolie Emigration System. We have also labored to disseminate the information we have been able to obtain, relative to the nature and working of the different systems of Land Revenue in India, some of which we believe to be injurious, oppressive, and impolitic, more especially the recent assessment of rent-free estates, throughout the Presidency of Bengal.

Thus interested, and thus occupied, it is a matter of sincere gratification to us, to receive a visit from so distinguished a Native of India as yourself, and to be able to address you as we

now do, as a fellow-citizen. We feel confident you will appreciate the importance of the interests we have espoused, and, however humble our efforts may have been, do justice to the motives by which they have been inspired. We shall be grateful for your counsel in our future proceedings, and be happy to receive from your lips whatever encouragement you feel warranted in affording us.

We take this opportunity of putting on record our conviction of the special and peculiar claims which you have to our respect and gratitude. As a stranger possessing no other title to our regard, we should, as individuals, have been prompt to extend to you a cordial welcome to the shores of Scotland.

But, more than this, you come among us recommended by your own countrymen, and authenticated by your own acts, as the intelligent and generous promoter of many of the objects to which we as a Society are devoted. In that land, to which our best wishes have been so often sent, and to which our remote endeavours have been directed, you have long been distinguished by deeds of enlightened and enlarged philanthropy.

We recognize in you a friend of that knowledge which confers dignity and power on its possessor, and also a liberal promoter of the most extended plans for the education of the youth of your country.

We recognize in you a munificent patron, and practical promoter of peaceful and unrestricted commerce ; of a system of trade calculated to bind nation to nation and man to man, and to make the varied blessings of the Creator, and the useful inventions of genius, universal in their benefits to the human race.

We recognize in you the fearless asserter of the rights of human industry,—at this moment striving to throw the shield of protection over the humblest cultivator of the soil of your birth, and to secure for honest toil a just participation in the fruits of the field.

We recognize in you a generous supporter, and in some instances the founder of the institutions of your own Metropolis, which have been established for the humane purpose of mitigating the sorrows and the sufferings of your indigent and afflicted countrymen.

Finally, we recognize in you a zealous advocate of just and equal laws for all classes of the vast community to which you

belong. Accept, then, the only recompense we have it in our power to offer, the sincere tribute of our admiration and esteem. You have lived and laboured for the good of mankind, and it is but just you should receive our thanks in the name of common humanity. For the future, we offer you our assistance and co-operation. We will do what we can, by the diffusion of information, to create a deeper and more benevolent interest in favour of your country, and we trust you will be long spared to prosecute your truly noble enterprises in the cause of education, and the establishment of those great principles of commerce and government, to the influence and triumph of which we look for the union, the elevation, and the happiness of the nations of the earth.

Our desire for the country of your birth, now dependent for its laws and its administration upon this, is, through all coming time, its people may have reason to bless the inscrutable Providence that has linked your destinies and ours together.

Hitherto your country has been a scene of rapid and unparalleled, and a source of perennial and incalculable wealth to the people of Great Britain. But we deplore that in our career of conquest and of gain, we have, as a nation, inflicted many and grievous wrongs upon the Natives of India, though we would fain hope that at the same time we have been the instruments for conferring some benefits. The period for the infliction of evil is, we trust, past. Henceforward, we would that our efforts should be confined exclusively to the reparation of injury, and the correction of error, and to the discharge of those solemn obligations under which our acquisition of your country has laid us.

Our desire is, that the sword of conquest may be for ever sheathed, that the rod of oppression may be for ever broken, and that the yoke of an unwilling subjection may be everywhere exchanged for a voluntary allegiance, perpetuated by a wise, a benevolent, and an equitable administration of the Government throughout all the Provinces committed to our care.

In these desires, we doubt not you will fervently join, and as earnestly labour for their realization.

And now, honoured Sir, in taking our leave, permit us to assure you, that whenever you may depart from this country, our best wishes will attend you, and our constant prayer for your

guidance, prosperity, and happiness. We have unanimously elected you an Honorary Member of our Society, and trust that you will not decline to accept of this mark of the estimation in which we hold your character. We commend you to the care and keeping of the MAKER and PRESERVER of men. Farewell!

On behalf of the COMMITTEE,

W. WEMYSS, *Chairman.*

ED. CRUICKSHANK, *Secy.*

T. DUNLOP, *Secy.*

Edinburgh, September 8th, 1842.

From Edinburgh Dwarkanath proceeded to Glasgow, the commercial capital of Scotland. There he visited the warehouses and manufactories, as also the tomb of John Knox, and the monument erected to the memory of Bell, who invented steam-boats.

During his visit to Scotland, he was elected, we are informed, a member of the British Indian Society of Edinburgh. We should very much like to know what was done by this Society, and what became of it.

At Glasgow, Dwarkanath took ship and came to Liverpool. Of the institutions of Liverpool, the Asylum for the blind struck him as one of the most interesting. "I thought it a sight worth seeing, and, when I left, they were all so anxious to shake hands with me, and which I did with them all." At Fawcett's Engine Manufactory, he found the engines for the "Dwarkanath" and "Henderson" being made; one of the pairs being three hundred and fifty horse power. "Albert" was rather inferior to "Napier's;" there were no less than eight hundred workmen en-

gaged on the works. The Manchester Railway brought Dwarkanath from Liverpool to Manchester. Murray's Manufactory impressed him as something wonderful, and as affording a striking illustration of the effects of division of labor. From Birmingham Dwarkanath proceeded to Worcester, where he saw and admired the porcelain vases. Here he took post-horses and arrived at Bristol. The chief object of his coming to this place was to visit the tomb of his friend and co-adjutor, Ram Mohun Roy. Having fulfilled this object, he returned to London.

A few days after his return to London from the manufacturing districts, he received a command from the Queen to lunch with Her Majesty and Prince Albert at Windsor. Thursday, the 29th September, was the day appointed. There were present Lord Rivers and a few other noblemen and gentlemen. It was at this party that the Queen and Prince Albert were graciously pleased to comply with his request that their full-length portraits should be painted and entrusted to him for presentation to the City of Calcutta. The portraits have been pronounced admirable likenesses, and now grace the Town Hall.

Her Majesty was further pleased to command miniature portraits of herself and the Prince Consort to be prepared with the least practicable delay, for his own private collection.

There was another honor reserved for Dwarkanath before his departure from England. It emanated from an unexpected quarter, viz., the Cym-

reigyddion y Venni. The following address was presented to him on behalf of that body:—

Most Illustrious Chieftain, Dwarkanath Tagore, in the name and on behalf of the Cymreigyddion y Venni, I ask permission to address you in the ancient and aboriginal language of this island, and to express to you the high gratification they feel in being honored with your presence at this their national festival, which is held in conformity with the ancient usages of their country, handed down from ages, of which no memorial remains, save that which may be traced in the uncertain records of tradition; and although that tradition is of too vague and indistinct a character to occupy the place of history, yet, if the alleged migration of the Cymry from the SUMMER COUNTRY, the similarity of the Druidic and BRAHMINIC tenets, together with the many striking instances of resemblance between the Sanscrit and Cymraeg languages, may be allowed any weight, there exists evidence of the cognate origin of the Hindu and Celtic races, or else of an early and intimate connexion between those primitive branches of the human family.

Under these impressions, therefore, and with these views respecting the Eastern division of the Indo-European race, the Cymreigyddion cannot but regard with feelings of peculiar pleasure the appearance among them of a representative of that ancient and celebrated people, and especially when they see in that illustrious individual an eminent an instance of the high intellectual cultivation which once characterized his nation, and that, too, adorned by the practice of those social virtues which have ensured him the affection and gratitude of his own countrymen, and the esteem of all who have been honored with his acquaintance.

I beg, Sir, once more to express our gratification at the honor of your presence here this day; and as the urgency of weightier affairs will not admit of a longer sojourn among us, one of our most sacred duties is to speed the departing guest; we most cordially wish you a prosperous and happy return to your own people; and should circumstances lead you again to visit the shores of Britain, the Cymreigyddion y Venni will be amongst the foremost to welcome your coming.

Being now on the eve of his departure for India, Dwarkanath received visits from several distinguished men whose acquaintance he had made in Europe, and who came to bid him farewell. Among them was the inimitable novelist, the lamented Charles Dickens. He held quite a levée in the evening he left England. On the evening of the 15th of October, he embarked on the "William Fawcett" from London Bridge Wharf, accompanied by his friends Mr. Brown Roberts and Captain Barber, and carrying with him the good wishes and cordial congratulations of the representative men of all classes of the English community. On the 16th, the "William Fawcett" weighed anchor. On the evening of the 18th, Dwarkanath arrived at Paris. The entrance to that great city, the capital of fashion and beauty, of wealth and science, is described in his Diary as one of the handsomest and most imposing sights in the world. "It was so lighted that it appeared as if there was an illumination for some grand occasion." He met at Paris the Parkers, the Campbells and Mr. William Prinsep, who constituted, so to speak, his own party. Besides these personal friends and companions, he made the acquaintance of the following distinguished persons, *viz.*, the Duchesse De Gramont, C. Lappette, Baron James Rothschild, Duke de Mouchey, Count D'Orsay, M. Fould, Count Wallewsky, Lady Cowley, M. Baruff, Marquis de Brignole, Mr. Daly (Banker), M. Guizot, Humboldt, Count Ruffert, Fould and Oppenheim, Dalapert and Co., Hottinger and Co., Jacques Laffette, Laffette Blannat, and Rothschild Freres.

On the 28th October, Dwarkanath had the honor of an inter view with Louis Philippe at St. Cloud. His Majesty presented him to the Queen, his sister Madame Adelaide, and to King Leopold and the Queen of Belgium. The Court being then in mourning, there were no festivities held on the occasion.

While Dwarkanath was at Paris, he received from the Court of Directors the following flattering letter, presenting him with a Gold Medal for distinguished services rendered by him to his country :—

EAST INDIA HOUSE,
21st October 1842.

SIR—On the occasion of your return to your native country, the Court of Directors of the “East India Company” are desirous of presenting you with a Testimonial of their esteem, and of the approbation with which they regard the public benefits conferred by you upon British India, by the liberal encouragement you have afforded to the diffusion of education and to the introduction of the Arts and Sciences, and by the generous support you have given to the Charitable Institutions of Calcutta, whether established for the relief of the Hindoo or the British community. The Court trust that the noble course which you have pursued will have the effect of contributing to the accomplishment of that object which it has ever been their anxious desire to promote, *viz.*, the identification of the feelings and interests of the natives to their Government, and thus strengthening the bond which unites India with Great Britain.

Impressed with these sentiments, the Court request your acceptance of a Gold Medal, for the preparation of which they have given the necessary instructions.

In making this communication on their behalf, permit us to assure you of the satisfaction which we derive from being the medium of conveying the Court's feelings and wishes, in which we most fully participate, and to express our sincere hope that your visit to this country has been productive to you of much

gratification, and that your future career may be marked by happiness and prosperity.

We have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

J. L. LUSHINGTON.

JOHN COTTON.

In his reply to the Court of Directors, he bears his weighty testimony to the excellence of the British Government in India, "whose pure and benevolent intentions, whose noble solicitude for the welfare and improvement of the millions committed by Providence to its charge, may challenge the admiration of the whole world."

Dwarkanath returned to India at the end of the year 1842. He was accompanied by Mr. George Thompson, one of the most extraordinary men of the age, whom he had invited to visit this country. The unrivalled eloquence of Mr. Thompson electrified Calcutta.

Dwarkanath came back with more enlarged ideas and wider sympathies than what he had carried with him. He had seen England and the institutions which had contributed to her greatness. He had seen life in all its broad, refined, and varied phases. He had seen intellectual and political men leading intellectual and political lives. His intercourse with some of the most highly cultivated minds in Europe had caused an immense expansion of his faculties and enlargement of the range of his sentiments, which placed him on a vantage ground and enabled him to rise above and defy the pre-

judices of his countrymen His return from England to the bosom of his family caused a deep sensation. Hindu society was stirred to its depths. Hinduism stood aghast at his heterodoxy. The man who had dared to cross the kalapanee and eat with the *mellachos* in contravention of the *shasters* must be cast out of the pale of society. Accordingly there arose from the Baitakhanas of the Baboos and the toles of the Pandits a cry that Dwarkanath must be excommunicated. It is worthy of notice that a portion of even the Piralees and Tagores joined in this cry and desired to disgrace a man who was their ornament. But Dwarkanath showed a bold front, and defied them to do their worst. This attitude drove the caste-mongers to their wits' end. They who had expected he would eat the humble pie, and perform *praschitto*, perceived that they had caught a Tartar, and the movement initiated by them was nipped in the bud.

Dwarkanath was thankful that the interests of his own country had been confided to the guardianship of England, and he continued his best exertions to further those interests. He was thoroughly convinced of the supreme importance of female education, and he was also strongly persuaded that the best mode of educating Hindu girls was the employment of the agency of trained European female teachers. He therefore proposed the establishment of such a school at his own expense, and under the superintendence of female teachers. With a view to obtain the services of an efficient instructive staff, he placed

himself in communication with the Most Reverend the Archbishop Carew, whose letter I subjoin:—

“ Having received an official letter from the Council of Education, requesting that I would send some of the ladies of the Loretto Institute to superintend the Female Department of the Medical College Hospital, I would wish, before I return an answer, to learn from you how many of the ladies of the Institute would in your opinion be required for the Native Female School you propose to establish, and also when you are likely to require their services. I deem it proper to attend first to your wishes, not only because you first requested their co-operation, but also because it is gratifying to me to have such an opportunity to evince my respect and gratitude for you in return for your kind and generous conduct towards the Catholic community.”

The project for the Female School was unfortunately not carried out.

In the Medical College, which had been established a few years before he left for England, he found a fitting sphere for his philanthropy. Having fostered its growth, he now wanted to improve the status of the College, and to obtain for its students a higher medical education. In 1844, he accordingly made an offer to the Council of Education to pay the expenses to England and education of any students of the College who might be willing to accompany him to Europe, where he contemplated a second voyage. The offer was thankfully accepted, and he was informed that “ two lads had volunteered to accompany him.” The names of those two “ lads” are Bholanath Bose, and Soorjecoomar, now Dr. Soorjecoomar Goodeve Chuckerbutty.

Following the example of Dwarkanath Tagore, Government undertook to pay the expenses of

another couple of students who might accompany Dwarkanath for the same purpose. These four students went home in charge of Dr. H. H. Goodeve, and they all successfully competed for the diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons, an honor for which the Medical College and the country are indebted to the foresight and enlightened liberality of Dwarkanath.

Before his departure on his second voyage to Europe, Dwarkanath, with the assistance of Mr. Deans Campbell, established the "Bengal Coal Company." It is the most flourishing concern of the kind, yielding annually, I think, about 6,13,91,000 maunds, being more than the united out-turn of the "Beerbhoom," the "Seersole," and the "Equitable" Companies.

At the end of the year 1844, Dwarkanath received an official letter, by the Queen's order, regarding the full length as well as miniature portraits presented to him, and from which the following is an extract:—

"As I wrote to you some time ago to announce to you officially that the two royal portraits painted at your request for the city of Calcutta were already embarked for India, so I now write to inform you that the Queen has commanded a miniature of herself to be made as soon as possible, which is to be transmitted to you for your own private collection as a special mark of Her Majesty's favor."

Dwarkanath departed on his second voyage to England on the 8th March 1845, on board the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer *Bentinck*, and was accompanied by his youngest son, Narendranath.

Tagore, his nephew, Nobin Chunder Mookerjee, his family physician, Dr W. Raleigh, and his private secretary, Mr. T. R. Saxe.

At Suez, Dwarkanath and suite left the *Bentinck* and proceeded to Cairo, where he remained for a fortnight at Shepherd's Hotel.

He met with a distinguished reception from Mahomet Ali, the Viceroy, who placed at his disposal nine saddle horses and one mule, with gold-mounted harness, and a couple of Janissaries, or out-riders.

At the palace of Shoubrah, Dwarkanath had several interviews with the Viceroy. He was generally accompanied on these occasions by Mr. J. B. Bell, a merchant in China, Mr. John Dent, and Mr. Abbott, besides the members of his own party. The gentlemen above mentioned had joined him at Suez, and had accompanied him to Egypt. His Excellency used to sit in a corner, and Dwarkanath and his friends in a semi-circle before him : Dwarkanath's knowledge of the Persian language enabled him to converse with the Viceroy directly ; but conversation with the others was carried on through the medium of Mr. Tibalde and a Turkish interpreter. One of the chief topics of conversation was the laying out of a railway through the desert. Egypt had not been then Europeanised, or rather Frenchified ; Sir F. de Lesseps' triumph of engineering skill had not been achieved. The new sea had not been created to receive the waters of the Red Sea. The fish of the latter had not fraternised with the fish of the Mediterranean, nor had Ismailia, with its boulevards and gardens, leaped into existence like

an oasis in the desert. The meeting of the waters undertaken unsuccessfully by the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies was not even dreamt of. What then was immediately desiderated was, not the opening of the Suez Canal, but a railway through the desert. It was therefore natural that Dwarkanath and his friends should earnestly and repeatedly urge on His Excellency the necessity and importance of the railway. The Khedive expressed his perfect appreciation of the benefits of the measure suggested to him, and promised to carry it out with the least practicable delay. He in his turn asked his visitors several questions, and always entertained them with coffee served in golden cups. He was sometimes very funny, and evinced a keen sense of humour. On being told that Mr. Bell had been attacked and obliged to fight in China, he laughed and said that he could not understand how a person of such short stature could fight, forgetting that Napoleon and some of the greatest warriors were short men. Referring to the long nose of Mr. Safe, the private secretary, His Excellency observed that he ought to be a clever man, an opinion in which His Excellency was not mistaken. Dwarkanath visited, not only the old palace, but the bathing reservoirs abounding therein and frequented by the zenanah.

At Malta, Dwarkanath had to undergo quarantine for a fortnight. The Governor, and Sir L. Curtis, the admiral, placed at his disposal a steamer for Naples; and as the *Aigle*, commanded by Lord Clarence Paget, was to be taken in tow, he became the invited guest of his lordship. His private secre-

tary and Dr. Raleigh remained in the steamer. The original intention was to stop at Messina, but it was given up. On arrival at Naples a royal salute was fired, which was the first experience Dwarkanath acquired of the firing of cannon on board ship. Dwarkanath and party were put up at the Victoria Hotel in Naples. He called at the English Embassy, and the ambassador, Sir William Temple, presented him to the King, who conversed with him in fluent English.

Dwarkanath ascended Mount Vesuvius as far as the Hermitage, and very much enjoyed the lachrymi Christi. Dr. Raleigh, Mr. Dent, and Mr. Safe proceeded up the volcano, and the whole party returned to Naples delighted, but very much tired.

His route now lay through the following places, all of which he visited : Leghorn, Civita Vecchia, Pisa, Genoa, Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Paris. He stopped at Paris for a fortnight, during which period he was a frequent guest of Louis Philippe. His Majesty was quite charmed with the oriental zemindar, and was pleased to accord him a courteous and even a cordial reception. Dwarkanath visited Versailles on a fête day, when the scene presented by hundreds of fountains playing in the midst of a forest of flowers is described to us by an eye-witness as magnificent. There was an amusing incident on this occasion. The crowds of people from the country who had come to witness the fête were all eager to know who the distinguished individual was whom their King had delighted to honor. Monsieur Fuett, the secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, inspired by the fun and frolic, said that the distinguished stranger was

the King of the Celestial Empire. On receiving this information, the people cried "Mon Dieu," and expressed themselves thankful they had seen such an exalted personage in that part of the world.

Dwarkanath arrived in London on the 24th June 1845. He was received at the railway terminus by Major Henderson, Longueville Clarke, and other Indian friends. He took up his quarters at St. George's Hotel, Albemarle-street, Piccadilly. So soon as he was settled, he made arrangements for the education and training of his son and nephew, who had accompanied him. He placed Nogendronath under the charge of Dr. Drummond, and had Nobin Chunder appointed as an assistant in the firm of Robert Michael & Co., agents to Carr, Tagore & Co. A few days after his arrival in London, he had the gratification of witnessing the ceremony of the prorogation of Parliament by the Queen in person. He, his son, and his nephew were on that occasion accommodated in the "distinguished strangers' gallery." He was just in time to be present at the Queen's Drawing-room. Her Majesty received him very graciously, and requested him to stand behind her chair, an honor accorded only to a privileged few. Dwarkanath appreciated it the more as he had been told before leaving India that he must not expect to be received with the same exceptional distinction as on his first visit.

Dwarkanath having brought several valuable presents for the Queen, intimation of the same was sent to Her Majesty through Lady Jocelyn, lady of the bed-chamber. Her Majesty accepted only some Chinese grotesque ornaments and Delhi gold arm-

lets and bracelets. Prince Albert accepted from Dwarkanath a beautiful shawl chogah.

Dwarkanath received a special invitation to Buckingham Palace. He met several of the Royal guests then lodged at the palace. It was on this occasion that the miniature portraits which Her Majesty had during her first visit so kindly promised to present him with were handed to him, with the following autograph :

TO DWARKANATH TAGORE,

with best regards

from

VICTORIA R.

ALBERT.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, *July 8, 1845.*

On his return from the palace to the hotel, he roused up his private secretary, and requested him to jot down the words as nearly as could be recollected of this memorable interview, and he laid very great stress on this point, as very few individuals beyond Royalty had ever received such marks of condescension from Her Majesty.

Whenever Dwarkanath was not engaged to dine out, his great pleasure was to have his friends about him at dinner. At one of these little parties, the following literary celebrities were present as his guests: Count D'Orsay, Charles Dickens, William Thackeray, Douglas Jerrold, Mark Lemon, and J. Mayhew. The dinner was originally intended for the contributors to *Punch*, but Count D'Orsay invited himself. Lord Auckland wrote and begged to be allowed

to come, but the invitations were confined to the above-mentioned gentlemen. During dinner the conversation sparkled with wit of the highest order; Count D'Orsay, Frenchman as he was, had so complete a mastery of English that he was quite as ready at repartee as Douglas Jerrold himself. Dickens sat at the foot of the table next Mr. Safe, and was so silent that his fellow-authors remarked it and poked their fun at him. Douglas Jerrold chaffed him by declaring that his reticence must be attributed to a lverse criticism on some of his works. This drew him out into a most animated discourse. This gathering of the wit was an unusually brilliant affair; the guests as fully appreciated the heartiness of the host as the latter enjoyed the society of the former.

At about this time Dwarkanath put himself in communication with Joseph Hare, with a view to obtain materials for a biography of his brother David Hare, the apostle of Native education in India. It is a thousand pities that Dwarkanath did not live to execute the task.

In the autumn of 1845, Dwarkanath paid a visit to Ireland. He was accompanied by Captain Andrew Henderson. He crossed over from Liverpool, where he stayed one day to receive the hospitality of the Mayor. At the Mayor's dinner, there were present Judge Cresswell and the chief officers of the town. On landing in Ireland, he was waited upon by a committee of gentlemen who had come to invite him to a grand dinner to be given to Mr. Hartley, managing director of the Peninsular and Oriental Company. On this occasion Dwarkanath for the first

time realized the peculiarities of the Irish character, and greatly enjoyed the excitement of the public dinner. He had not been long in Dublin before he called upon the Viceroy: he afterwards accepted His Excellency's invitation to dinner at the Vice-regal Lodge, where he met the Commander-in-Chief and other celebrities. He then commenced his tour through Drogheda to Belfast. There his hotel was crowded by visitors, and there a curious instance of the aptitude of the Irish character for fun occurred. Mr. Hartley, seeing a friend most anxious to be introduced to Dwarkanath, told him that, on being saluted, he must fall on his knees and kiss the prince's hand (for Dwarkanath was always styled prince in Europe.) Sir Emerson Tennent invited him to his house, and caused a steamer, with the band of the Cameronians on board, to steam down the Lough and harbour of Belfast for the accommodation of his guests. Dwarkanath went over the principal linen manufactories of Mr. Dickson, afterwards member of Parliament. One of the greatest attractions to him in Ireland was the large telescope of Lord Rosse. His reception by this nobleman was cordial; not only did His Lordship exhibit the working of this great work, but he explained to him the whole system of adjusting the lens. His route now lay southwards to Cork, thence to Killarney, then to the residence of Daniel O'Connell. In company with O'Connell, he visited the Lakes of Killarney and other lions. With O'Connell he used to exchange ideas on political questions, but he never sympathised with the extreme views of the great demagogue for the repeal

of the Union and the regeneration of Ireland. His meeting with the celebrated Father Matthew was a great event: it occurred after service at a Roman Catholic church where he had gone, and the friendship then struck was mutual and sincere. There were many jokes about taking the pledge. They ended by a gift of a medal, and receiving a promise from Father Matthew to have his portrait taken, which was done by a well-known Irish painter, Mr. Lesly.

Dwarkanath had the advantage of discussing with the present Prime Minister a subject deeply interesting to his country. It happened that Mr. Gladstone called on him one evening to remind him of his engagement to a dinner. Mr. Gladstone said he was very much hurried and could not stay, but somehow or other the conversation was prolonged for an hour. The subject of it was the admission of Natives to Parliament. Dwarkanath declared that he saw no valid reason why a Hindu, if otherwise qualified, should, on the score of difference in religion, be excluded from the British Legislature. Mr. Gladstone replied that the reason for exclusion was, as had been laid down, religion. It was because a man was a non-Christian that he was unable to take the oaths and seat even if he should be elected. He added that want of belief in the founder of Christianity as the Son of God was enough to debar a man from assuming or calling himself a Christian. Dwarkanath contended that a Hindu who confined his belief to a Supreme Being had an equal right to election to Parliament as a

believer in the God-head of Christ, but the contention did not lead to the conviction of either party.

At the end of June his health began to fail. On the 30th of that month, he went to a dinner party, the last he went to, at the Duchess of Inverness's, but during dinner he felt a sharp attack of ague which quite prostrated him. Both the hostess and several of her lady guests took off their shawls and covered him with them, expressing their most sincere sympathy with his distress.

Since that period he kept to his room. Dr. Martin, who attended him, ordered him change of air. He went to Worthing, a watering place, but he did not benefit by the change. He returned to London, and Dr. Martin, Dr. Bright, and Dr. Chambers now attended him. He was suffering from remittent fever, to which he at last succumbed. He died in the fifty-second year of his age, on Saturday, the 1st August 1846. It was suspected that organic disease of the lungs and viscera had prevailed, but it was not so, as the *post mortem* examination showed a healthy state of all the important organs.

The funeral of Dwarkanath was a matter of considerable anxiety with his friends. It was believed that a will had been executed, and Major Henderson, his partner in the Calcutta-house, named an executor. But the Major could not take upon himself to decide about the disposal of the remains of a Hindu gentleman whose ancestors had been burnt. It was true that his friend Ram Mohun Roy was

buried in England, but it was believed that that reformer was more of a Unitarian than a Hindu in religion. His son and nephew were both young, and their desire was to do what was right; and it was decided therefore that he should be buried at Kensal Green Cemetery, without the intervention of a clergyman: there were offers to read the service, but none was read—it was a simple act of lowering down of the coffin amidst the unfeigned sorrow of the bystanders.

His remains were interred on the 5th August in an unconsecrated portion of the cemetery at Kensal Green. The funeral was attended by his son and nephew and the following gentlemen: Sir Edward Ryan, Major Henderson, General Ventura, Dr. H. H. Goodeve, Dr. Raleigh, Mr. William Prinsep, Mr. R. Roberts, Mr. Plowden, Mohun Lall, and the medical students who were being educated in England at his expense. The funeral was also attended by four Royal carriages, and the equipages of many of the nobility. It is curious to notice that Dwarkanath expired during the great storm which passed over London on the 7th August, and he was buried while a tempest of equal violence was raging.

On the lid of the coffin there were two silver plates, the one bearing the style and title of the deceased in the vernacular language, and on the other there was a translation of the same in English:—

BABOO DWARKANATH TAGORE, ZEMINDAR,
DIED, 1ST AUGUST 1846, AGED 51 YEARS.

This melancholy event cast a gloom over the large circle of the friends and admirers of the

lamented deceased. The highest personages in the land conveyed their condolence, either personally or by writing, to his youngest son and representative in England. Suffice it to produce the following letter from the Duchess of Somerset :—

PARK LANE,

2nd August 1846.

MY DEAR NOGENDRO,—I cannot tell you how I feel for you and all your family under this *most heavy* bereavement. May God support and comfort you and yours. I trust your health may not suffer from so much anxiety and constant fatigue. The Duke and I feel deeply this sad blow, and I feel as if indeed I had lost a very near and dear friend, and I am very very unhappy. But I will not intrude upon you at this time ; only believe *how* anxiously we feel for you, and do tell me if in anything I can be of the smallest comfort or use to you, you have only to command my poor services. Accept of our *heartfelt* sympathy and our most kind remembrances, and believe me, always,

My dear NOGENDRO,

Your very sincere and anxious friend,

(Sd.) M. SOMERSET.

In announcing the death of Dwarkanath Tagore, the *Morning Herald* of August 15th observed as follows :—

Dwarkanath Tagore had made a great step in advance ; he had done more good than if he had addressed to his countrymen a score of volumes full of profound philosophical reflections.

" 'Tis in the advance of individual minds,
That the slow crowd should ground their expectation
Struttedly to follow ; as the sea
Waits ere in its bed, till some one wave
Of all the multitudinous mass extends
The empire of the whole, some feet perhaps,
It follows so long time ; then forth the rest,
Even to the uttermost, hurry in at once,
And so much is their gain."

Lines, such as these, might well be inscribed upon Dwarkanath Tagore's tomb. He has made an advance; the one wave before its fellows; and the rest must in due course follow.

The London *Times* said :

The claim that this illustrious personage has on the present generation is for his unbounded philanthropy. No reference to creed stayed his purse in the cause of charity or the advancement of education in the promotion of colleges, whether for Native or Christian, and his name will be proudly associated with all the noble institutions flourishing in Calcutta. He had an extraordinary power of self-control, far beyond those participating in his own religion, to illustrate which it will suffice to instance his devoted encouragement to surgery. When the college for Hindu youths for the study of anatomy was opened, Dwarkanath was personally present, and witnessed the dissection of a subject—an abhorrence of the gravest nature in the eyes of the bigot portion of India—and heroically suppressed the sickness of heart and body he instinctively felt, for no other motive than that he conceived he was furthering the advancement of science, and doing a duty to mankind. He went through the ordeal with an unflinching nerve which had its weight with those of his own particular religion who were there on the occasion.

When the news of the death of Dwarkanath reached Calcutta, a universal feeling of regret pervaded the European and Native community. In order to give expression to that feeling, and to commemorate his memory, a public meeting was held at the Town Hall on the 2nd December 1846. Sir John Peter Grant, the popular Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court, presided on the occasion, and bore his eloquent testimony to the private and public worth of the lamented Dwarkanath. He said "he had known him for a long series of years, and truly might he say he knew no man who possessed in a higher

degree the excellence of a good man. He could speak with feelings of sincere friendship and most sincere regret at Dwarkanath Tagore's having been called away from amongst us in the midst of his honorable career of usefulness, while so actively instrumental in doing good, not only to his countrymen at large, but also to the Government to whom is entrusted the sovereignty of this country. He could confidently say that no man was better qualified than Dwarkanath Tagore to do away with the many discrepancies of feeling existing between Natives and Europeans."

A full report of the proceedings of this meeting will be found in the Appendix.

Thus passed away a master-spirit, a man who had imparted an unprecedented impetus to the cause of progress—a man who had left his mark on the history of his country, and whose memory history would not willingly let die. It is said that it is not the individual who makes revolutionary social and political changes, but that they are made by the progress of the age, and that he appears when the hour for him is come. If the hour makes the man, I believe the man brings about the hour. There is, however, no doubt that the individual who realizes such changes must have in him the stuff of the statesman and the reformer, and should be honored as an agent raised up by Providence for the good of mankind. Dwarkanath represented the progress of his time, and helped to give form and shape to the wants and aspirations of his age. Dwarkanath was the most remarkable Hindu in his generation,

and occupied an exceptional position in the European as well as the Native community. He was not only a man in a million. He was a myriad-minded man grappling with different difficulties, grasping and mastering different subjects, and distinguishing himself in different phases in life. We have seen how he succeeded as a law agent, as a sheristadar, as a merchant, and as a zemindar. We have seen how he made friends all along the path of life, and how he won the honor and regard, the esteem and love of men of different classes and pursuits with whom he was brought into contact. The politician and the divine, the philanthropist and the man of the world, the *savant* and the merchant, all loved to know him. One of the sources of his social spell was, no doubt, his power of talking over people to his side ; for George Stephen said once to Sir Robert Peel : " Why, of all the powers above and under the earth, there seems no power so great as the gift of the gab." It was in a great degree owing to the art possessed by him which Voltaire calls the art of pleasing, "*Le grand art de plaire*," which enabled him to watch and scan the countenance, and note its action and speak the right word at the right time. His mastery of this marvellous art rendered him an object of unusual attraction. He could make a dull man interesting, a dry man piquant, a reticent man chatty, a *blasé* man animated, and a battered and effete man rejuvenescent. But the chief ingredient of his attraction with his fellow-beings was, it cannot be too often repeated, his deep sympathy and love for them. It was

this which constituted the most conspicuous trait in his character, and the secret of his influence. Of this trait his whole life was a signal illustration. In truth, few men possessed a fuller humanity and a higher faculty of helping and sympathizing with his fellow-men.

In politics, Dwarkanath was at once loyal and liberal.

The cardinal doctrines of his political creed were, justice for India and loyalty to the British Government. While he believed, and, as we have seen, declared on more than one occasion, that we should be thankful that the interests of the country are confided to the keeping of the British Government, he was fully aware of its radical defects, and of the necessity of improving it. The establishment of the Landholders' Society shows that he was one of the first natives who understood and appreciated constitutional agitation. The active part he took in the emancipation of the press, and the promotion of steam communication, evinced his appreciation of the imposition of salutary checks upon Government, and the necessity of bringing enlightened public opinion to bear on the action of our rulers. The zealous interest he took in the public meetings and in public questions proved him to be a man of independent thought, of unbiassed judgment, and of strong convictions.

In religion, Dwarkanath was by early training a Tantric, not of the *Sakta* but of the *Vaishnava* type: but he outgrew the prejudices of the nursery. Thanks to his association with Ram Mohun Roy,

William Adams, and other advanced spirits, he threw off the shackles of superstition, and became a theist. He was a believer in one true and living God, and in the immortality of the soul.*

He was a prayerful man, and believed in the efficacy of prayer. He said his prayers every morning after his bath, and he died with a prayer on his lips.

But Dwarkanath was not a perfect man, and I do not purpose to paint him as perfection. He had faults, as who has not? His was not "the pure severity of perfect light." Dwarkanath was intensely of the social type, and delighted in society and in the pleasures thereof. He was in fact the favorite, but not the spoilt child of society, and as such was surrounded by temptations. It may be that these temptations were not wrestled down as they ought to have been; he wanted the capacity to conquer them. Without pleading for his infirmities, I would have it remembered that the rich and the highly placed are as much liable to temptation as the poor.

His was naturally a noble heart, but it was somewhat darkened by the shadow of the ambition and

* TO BABOO KISSORY CHAND MITTRA.

MY DEAR SIR,—My brother was a *Vaishnava* in the early part of his life. But he was always liberal in his views so far as religion is concerned. After his acquaintance with Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, his religion underwent a change, and so far, as my observation goes, he became a deist in the strict sense of the ancient Hindu religion. He believed in one God and in futurity.

Yours, &c.,

ROMANATH TAGORE.

worldly strife and grandeur which "he had accepted as part of his life."

But with all his faults he was the type of an extraordinary man, who joined to strength and energy of character deep sympathy with all classes of men. It was by that character, and the possession of some of the greatest qualities allotted to man, that he achieved the highest position attainable by a Hindu in the present *régime*, and succeeded in advancing his country in the path of progress. The intellect of Dwarkanath was not of the highest order, or received the largest measure of cultivation. He was not a profound thinker or lover of the abstractions of philosophy like his friend and collaborateur Ram Mohun Roy. Indeed, the two men were destined to play a different rôle in life. Dwarkanath, receiving hearty welcome in the Courts of England and the Continent, and winning golden opinions from the European world, was a different character from Ram Mohun Roy arguing the divinity and deity of Christ with Dr. Carpenter, and the deontological doctrine of the maximization of pleasure and minimization of pain with Bentham. But he was perhaps something better than a mere speculative theorist or philosophic reformer. He was, as a friend of his described him in one of the London papers, "a sound practical man, ever in advance of his countrymen, ever teaching them by example what it became them to do." "The question which life asks of us," says Lord Stanley to the students of the Glasgow University, "is not what do you know, but what can you do." Measured by this standard, and judged by the

light of the age he lived in, and not by that of the present, Dwarkanath claims a high place in the history of this country. In the muster-roll of those who have benefited and raised India, a conspicuous place must be assigned to him.

Many of the social and political reforms which Dwarkanath tried to bring about, have been consummated since he has passed away. The old times are changed. The old days are gone. The old ideas are exploded. The old watchwords are lost. The old landmarks are swept away.

Thirty years of education have brought to us "a higher height, a deeper deep."

While a Ram Mohun Roy, with all his moral courage, did not dare to eat and drink with the Europeans, an unfledged B. A. now thinks it the thing to imbibe champagne at a Bishop's reception. But is the said B. A. therefore a greater social reformer than a Ram Mohun Roy or a Dwarkanath Tagore? Yes; in the same sense that Macaulay tells us that the school-boy of the present day is a greater astronomer, because he knows more of the truths of astronomy and the other physical sciences than those great men who first thought out those truths. It must be remembered that Ram Mohun Roy and Dwarkanath were the pioneers of the progress that is now going on around us. Their career was the seed-time for the harvest which is ripening, and which posterity will reap. It was the time when there were laid the foundations on which a goodly superstructure is now being upreared. It was the time for planting the germs of that national life which is now developing it-

self. It was the time when social and moral agencies commenced to operate imperceptibly but infallibly for the improvement and elevation of the condition of this country, even as islands and continents are upheaved slowly but surely by the subterranean forces in never-ceasing action.

The changes which are now passing around us, and also those which are looming at no great distance, are all beneficial. When you find the advanced section of the community throwing off the fetters of ignorance and superstition, asserting their rights, and vindicating their position, then you may be sure you have a people of whom you can confidently predict that the course before them is an onward course. Should education progress, as it is now progressing—I mean the high education of the upper-middle and the middle classes, constituting the sinews and muscles of the country, and not merely the elementary education of the lower orders—should the noble and elevated ideas born of that education continue to mould the mind of the rising generation, and bear fruits in literature, society, and religion; should the spirit of enquiry, which is now abroad, continue to embrace the region of religion and politics; should the growing belief in higher things prove a living power instead of a dead petrification: we should then see India rising with the might of a giant, and assuming her proper position in the scale of nations.

I believe there are several men among us who are actuated by the same honest intention, the same patriotic spirit, and the same philanthropic impulse.

as Dwarkanath. Let them unite together and put their hand to the plough. "Let them not look back irresolute until they have done their share of the work, and won immortal honor for themselves and happiness for their countrymen."

"Progress is the law of life ; man's self is not yet man,
Nor shall I deem his object served, his end
Attained, his genuine strength put fairly forth,
While only here and there a star dispels
The darkness here and there. A towering mind
Overlooks its prostrate fellows ; when the
Host is out at once to the despair of night ;
When all mankind is alike perfected,
Equal in full-blown powers—then, not till then,
I say, begins man's genial infancy !"







